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THE AGE OF ŚRĪ MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ.

BY

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Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī is a star of first magnitude in the galaxy of Advaitic authors. His encyclopaedic learning, his brilliant dialectics, and his uncompromising advocacy of Advaita have earned for him an abiding place in the list of Sanskrit philosophic writers. Though an adept in the baffling technicalities of modern Nyāya, he keeps in his heart the flame of devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa undimmed and in describing the charms of the Lord in his *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* on the Gītā, he often rises to the highest altitudes of genuine eloquence. His *Ānandamandākinī*, a hymn of more than 100 Stanzas in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa shows that he is a poet of no mean order. He it was who took up the gauntlet thrown down by Vyāsarājasvāmī in his famous *Nyāyāmr̥ta* and put forth before a wondering world his *magnum opus* the famous *Advaita Siddhi*, containing a systematic refutation of all the arguments that have been urged against the Advaitavāda. The *Advaita Siddhi* has since maintained its value as a magnificent storehouse of convincing arguments in defence of the Advaitavāda. An intimate knowledge of the works of Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī has, in fact, come to be regarded as the high water-mark of Vedāntic scholarship.

It is a matter for genuine regret that no reliable information is available regarding the age in which he lived and the main incidents of his life. Even the question of his date remains unsettled. We shall, therefore, attempt in the sequel to determine the age in which he lived by an examination of all available evidences both internal and external. Many such attempts have already been made by various scholars to which we should like to make a brief reference at the outset.

(1) The late eminent judge and sanskrit scholar, Kāśināth Trimbak Telang of Bombay, discussed the question before the

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1874. We have not been able to have a look at these papers. We find a *bona fide* reference to the subject in the following passage in Mr. V. N. Naik's small brochure :—

“ In the same year (1874) he read two learned papers (1) on the Cālukya Copper plates (2) on the Date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the author of *Gītā Gūḍhārthadīpikā*. In this paper he combated the views of Lassen and Burnouf that Madhusūdana lived in the XVI century A. C. Telang came to the conclusion that he flourished in the reign of Aurangzeb *either at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century*” (*Kāśīnāth Trimbak Telang* p. 67). There is evidently some confusion of thought in the portions italicised above. Aurangzeb ruled between 1658 and 1707 A. D. We may not be wrong if we assume that according to Mr. Telang Madhusūdana Sarasvatī lived in the latter half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century A. D.

(2) The next attempt to determine the age of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī is contained in the Sanskrit introduction to Bopadeva's *Harilīlā Viveka* with Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary published in the Calcutta Oriental Series. Paṇḍit Īśvara Candra the writer of the introduction claims to be a lineal descendant of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and states that his information is based upon “ Vaidika Vāda Mīmāṃsā ” a family history of the western Vaidika Brahmans of the Kāśyapa Gotra living in Bengal. According to this history Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was a contemporary of Tulasīdās, the great Hindi poet and devotee (1532 to 1620 A. D.).

(3) In the Introduction (pp. 4 to 6) to the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts acquired for the Government Sanskrit College Benares during 1918-1919, Mr. Gopināth Kavirāj M.A. the present principal of the College writes as follows :—

“Being as I take him (Madhusūdana Sarasvatī,) to be, on the strength of evidence furnished by Puruṣottama a pupil of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, a contemporary of Nṛsiṃhāśramā, both of whom are said to have been defeated in argument by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in a public controversy, he may be placed in the middle of the 16th Century; for Śiromaṇi's date is about 1520 A. D. and

Nṛsimhāśrama completed his *Vedānta Tattvaviveka* in Samvat 1604 or 1547 A.D. ”.

(4) In his learned introduction to the महाविद्याविडम्बन of Vadindra (p. XXVI) published in the Gaiekwad Oriental Series, Mr. M. R. Telang assigns Madhusūdana Sarasvatī to 1700 A. D. without assigning reasons for his view.

(5) In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute Vol. VIII. Part II (1926-27) there is a learned article on “ Madhusūdana Sarasvatī : His Life and Works ” by Prahlad C. Divanji, M.A., L. L. M. After a careful examination of all the available evidences, he concludes that “ Madhusūdana must have lived in the latter half of the 16th and the former of the 17th century ”. Having thus summarised the literature (available to us) on the subject we shall now proceed to state our view of the matter. We hold that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī must be assigned to the last three quarters of the seventeenth century A. D. Our view is based on the following considerations :—

(A) It is well known that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī wrote his *Advaita Siddhi*, in answer to Vyāsarājasvāmi’s *Nyāyāmṛta*. Vyāsarājasvāmi lived between 1446 and 1539 A. D. Supposing that a period of 50 years should at last have elapsed between the writers, we may assign Madhusūdana Sarasvatī to the end of the 16th century A. D. at the earliest.

(B) Similarly, we can see that the *Advaitaratnarakṣaṇa* was written as a reply to Śaṅkara Miśra’s *Bhedaratna*.¹ Śaṅkara Miśra intended his *Bhedaratna* as a counterblast to Śrī Harṣa’s खण्डनखण्डखाद्य. He says

¹Śaṅkara Miśra’s मेदरत्न appears to have received another rejoinder in Mallanārādhya’s अभेदरत्न or अद्वैतरत्न which was commented upon by Nṛsimhāśramā in his तत्त्वदीपन (Vide Nos. 4524 and 4525 in Vol X of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Oriental Library Madras). Mallanārādhya says,

अभेदस्य परित्राणे रत्नस्याचार्यशङ्कराः ।

यामिकास्तेन तन्मार्गाद्युक्तं हस्तेन वारणम् ॥”

This अभेदरत्न is the same as the one referred to by Rāmakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita in his वेदान्तपरिभाषाशिखामणि (p. 295 of the Śrī Venkateśwara Press Edition). It may be noted that Dharma Rāja Dīkṣita, Rāmakṛṣṇa’s father and author of the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* refers to Nṛsimhāśrama as his paramaguru.

“भेदरत्नपरित्राणे तार्किका एव यामिकाः ।

अतो वेदान्तिनः स्तेनानिरस्यत्येष शङ्करः ॥

To this Madhusūdana Sarasvatī rejoins in the following verse :—

अद्वैतरत्नरक्षायां तात्त्विका एव यामिकाः ।

अतो न्यायविदः स्तेनानिरस्यामः स्वयुक्तिभिः ॥

Śaṅkara Miśra lived after 1529 A. D. as pointed out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganath Jha in his introduction to Śaṅkara Miśra's *Vādivinoda* published in the *Śyāmacharan Sanskrit Series*, Allahabad.

(C) The learned writer of the introduction to the *हरिलीलाविवेक* states that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī wrote a commentary on the *सिद्धान्तलेशसङ्ग्रह* of Appayya Dikṣita whose date has been fixed beyond any possibility of doubt to be between 1554 and 1626 A. D. If with Mr. P. C. Divanji we assume an interval of 50 years to have elapsed between Appayya Dikṣita and his commentator, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī should be assigned to the 2nd quarter of the 17th Century A. D. The term वेदान्तशास्त्र occurring in the introductory verse of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *सिद्धान्तबिन्दु* is explained by Brahmānanda Sarasvatī in his *न्यायरत्नावलि* as follows:—
शारीरकमीमांसाचतुरध्यायी । तद्भाष्य-तदीयटीकावाचस्पत्य-तदीयटीकाकल्प-
तरु-तदीयटीकापरिमलरूपग्रन्थपञ्चकेत्यर्थः. Thus according to Brahmānanda Sarasvatī whose authority cannot be lightly brushed aside, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī came after Appayya Dikṣita the author of वेदान्तकल्पतरुपरिमल. In this connection we may also note the benedictory verse of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Bhaktirasāyana*

“पदनखनिविष्टमूर्तेरेकादशतामिवावहनिष्ठाम् ।

यं समुपास्ते गिरिशस्तं वन्दे नन्दमन्दिरं कञ्चित् ॥

On the very face of it this stanza appears to have been intended as a refutation of the superiority of Śiva maintained by Appayya Dikṣita in some of his controversial works.

(D) We now come upon what we confidently regard as the most positive piece of evidence regarding the age of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. In his commentary on *संक्षेपशारीरक* of सर्वज्ञात्मन् Madhusūdana Sarasvatī adversely criticises Rāmātīrtha's interpretation contained in his commentary on the same work, as

may be seen from the following passages from the two writers which are placed side by side for purposes of easy reference :—

I

रामतीर्थः

अभितः सर्वात्मना श्रुतिस्मृतीति-
हासपुराणैस्तात्पर्येणोपपादितस्वभा-
वेन, अभिमुख्येन वा प्रत्यगभेदलक्षणेन
स्तवीमि स्तवनं करोमि—तत्स्वरूप-
निरूपणपरं ग्रन्थं करोमि इत्यर्थः (सं.
शा. I. 1.)

मधुसूदनसरस्वती

तत्स्तुतिरूपं तत्स्वरूपनिरूपणपरं
ग्रन्थं करोमीत्यर्थ इत्यन्ये (सं. शा. I. 1.)

II

भूमभावो ब्रह्मभावः । अत्र भूमशब्दो
न भाववचनः । किन्तु “भूमा सम्प्रसा-
दादध्युपदेशात्” इति न्यायेनाखण्डब्रह्म-
वचन इति विवक्षित्वा भूमभावेत्युक्त-
मिति द्रष्टव्यम् (सं. शा. I. 2.)

भूमो भाव इति व्याख्यानमनुपा-
देयम् । बहोर्भावस्य भूमशब्दवाच्यत्वेन
भावशब्दवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः (सं. शा. I. 2.)

III

अत्र यदिशब्दप्रयोगादभ्युपगमवाद-
ताऽस्य पक्षस्य द्योतिता (सं. शा.
I. 169.)

अत्रानिश्चितार्थयदिशब्दस्वारस्येन
प्रौढिवादोऽयं ग्रन्थकारस्येति केचित्
(सं. शा. I. 169.)

IV

किलेत्यनयोः पक्षयोः स्वस्यारुचिं
सूचयति (सं. शा. I. 174)

अत्र केचित् किलशब्दाभ्यामस्वा-
रस्यं द्योतितं....इति (सं. शा. I. 174.)

The comments of the two authors on सङ्क्षेपशारीरक I. 292 and II. 75 may also be consulted in this connection. It will therefore be clear that the date of Rāmatīrtha would supply an upper limit before which Madhusūdana Sarasvatī could not be placed. Now, when did Rāmatīrtha live? Anantadeva, the author of सिद्धान्ततत्त्व, a short treatise on Advaita, refers to Rāmatīrtha as his guru.

यच्छ्रीमद्रामतीर्थेभ्यः सम्प्रदायसमागतम् ।

श्रुतं सत्तर्कसचिवं विविच्य तदिहोच्यते ॥

इत्थं परित्राजकपूज्यपादश्रीरामतीर्थानुसृतिप्रसादात् ।
सिद्धान्ततत्त्वं गतवाग्विवादमनन्तदेवेन मुदा न्यरूपि ॥

This Anantadeva was the father of Āpadeva, the author of the famous *मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश* and *बालबोधिनी* a commentary on Sadānanda's *Vedānta Sāra*. Āpadeva's son Anantadeva was the author of *स्मृतिकौस्तुभ*, *भाट्टालङ्कार* and other works. As he himself says in his *स्मृतिकौस्तुभ*, he was a protege of Baj Bahadur, a chief-tain of Kurmācala whom Prof. Jolly has assigned to the period 1644-1664 A. D. The following genealogical table is given for facility of reference :—

Anantadeva (author of *सिद्धान्ततत्त्व* and disciple of Rāmātīrtha.)

Āpadeva (author of *मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश* and *बालबोधिनी*)

Anantadeva II (author of *स्मृतिकौस्तुभ*, *भाट्टालङ्कार* etc.,) a protege of Baj Bahadur (1644-1664 A. D.).

Hence we may be justified in placing Rāmātīrtha two generations before Anantadeva II, about the close of the 16th century A. D.; and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī who criticises Rāmātīrtha could not have flourished before the close of the 16th century A. D.

Here we should like to remark in passing that the learned paṇḍit, who edited the *सिद्धान्ततत्त्व* in the Benares *Paṇḍit* series, identifies the author of *सिद्धान्ततत्त्व* with Anantadeva II. But this identification is wrong for the following reasons :—

(a) Anantadeva II says at the beginning of his *स्मृतिकौस्तुभ* that his father Āpadeva was the author of *न्यायप्रकाश* and that his grandfather Anantadeva I. wrote the *सिद्धान्ततत्त्व*

मीमांसानयकोविदो मधुरिपोः सेवासु नित्योद्यतो
विद्यादानविभावितोत्तमयशः आसीत्तदीयात्मजः ।
यस्यानन्तगुणैरनन्त इति सन्नामार्थवत्तां गतं
येनावादि च वादिनां श्रुतिशिरःसिद्धान्ततत्त्वं मुदे ॥
न्यायप्रकाशकर्ता निरवधिविद्याभृतप्रदः सततम् ।
मीमांसाद्वयनयवित्तनयस्तस्यां पदे वोऽभूत् [?] ॥

(b) Again, Āpadeva quotes the following passages in his *बालबोधिनी* and introduces them with the words “तदुक्तं तातचरणैः”

and “अत्रास्मद्गुरुः, ऐहिकपारलौकिकफलेच्छाविरोधिचेतोवृत्तिविशेषात्मको विरागः” and “नाज्ञानसमष्टिरीश्वरोपाधिः” and these passages are respectively found on pages 30 and 47 of Anantadeva’s सिद्धान्ततत्त्व ।¹

Let us now return to our main enquiry. We have seen that Rāmatīrtha’s date supplies the upper limit of the age of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. We shall now proceed to determine whether a lower limit can also be fixed. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī’s famous kārīkā—

“तस्यैवाहं ममैवासौ स एवाहमिति त्रिधा ।

भगवच्छरणत्वं स्यात् साधनाभ्यासपाकतः ॥”

which occurs in his *Gītāgūḍhārthadīpikā* XVIII. 66. is found quoted by Haridīkṣita in his commentary on *Śivagītā* (XIV-43.). Haridīkṣita was also the author of a *ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्ति*, published in the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*. At the end of this work, Haridīkṣita himself gives the date of its completion.

गजेश्वरसमूहसंख्ये (१६५८) शकेऽब्दे चानलाह्वये ॥

ज्येष्ठशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां ग्रन्थः सिद्धिमगादयम् ॥

This year corresponds to 1736 A.D. It will be thus clear that by the beginning of the 18th century A. D. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī’s writings had become famous enough to be quoted as authoritative. Hence the conclusion irresistibly follows that he flourished in the last three quarters of the 17th century A. D. and it is gratifying to note that this view is fully corroborated by the statement of Īśvara Candra in his introduction to *हरिलीलाविवेक* that about Śaka 1600 (1678 A. D.) the Emperor of Delhi sent for Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who vanquished the Paṇḍits of the Royal Court in a public controversy. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was therefore alive in 1678 A. D. Mr. K. T. Telang’s view quoted above, that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was a contemporary of Aurangzeb, is also fortified by the results of our independent enquiry.

In conclusion we should like to add a few words regarding Madhusūdana Sarasvatī’s place of nativity. According to the *Vaidika Vāda Mīmāṃsā*, he was a Kanouj Brahman whose ancestors had migrated from their original home and settled at Nava-dvīpa in the East Bengal. In his *Gītāgūḍhartha Dīpikā* (VI. 34.)

1. In my introduction to the *Advaitamakaranda* published by the Śrīraṅgam Śrī Vāṇī Vilas Press I have adopted the erroneous identification of Anantadeva II with the author of सिद्धान्ततत्त्व ।

he makes the following interesting statement तन्तुनागो नागपाशः तांतनीति गुर्जरादौ प्रसिद्धः महाह्रदनिवासी जंतुविशेषो वा । This naturally leads one to suppose that his mother tongue was Guzarati. We can however reconcile the two statements by positing that he was a Guzarati Brahman whose ancestors had migrated to Bengal but did not forget to cultivate their original mother tongue in their new home. Mr. P. C. Divanji makes the following curious statement—But as he had adopted the appellation “Sarasvatī” which is found to be in vogue in the north, his commentator Brahmānanda Sarasvatī calls him a “Gauḍa Brahmanā”. In the first place we have not come across any such passage in Brahmānanda Sarasvatī’s works. And in the second place Mr. Divanji ignores the fact that “Sarasvatī” is but the name of one of the ten orders of Smārta Sanyāsins. The appellation “Sarasvatī” is as common in the south as in the north. Śaṅkarānanda Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī, Sadāśivendra Sarasvatī and Svayamprakāśānanda Sarasvatī were all inhabitants of South India.

In a further article we shall give a systematic and critical review of all the extant works of Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

COMPOUNDS IN TAMIL LANGUAGE.

BY

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Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies compounds or¹ tokai moḷi under six heads² :—*Vēṛṛumaittokai*, *uvamaittokai*, *viṇaittokai*, *paṇ-puttokai*, *ummaittokai* and *aṇmolittokai*. *Vēṛṛumaittokai*³ is that in which the members which form the compound stand in case-relation to each other as *por-kuṭam* (gold-pot). It corresponds to *talpuruṣa* in Sanskrit. *Uvamaittokai*⁴ is that in which one member is compared to another as *pon-mēṇi* (gold-appearance). It corresponds to *upamānapūrvapada-karmadhāraya*. *Viṇaittokai*⁵ is that in which the first member is a participle denoting time and the second member is the noun which it qualifies as *kol-yāṇai* (elephant that kills, killed or will kill). It corresponds to a part of *viśēṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya*. *Paṇputtokai*⁶ is that in which the first member is generally a quality denoting colour, shape, extent, taste etc., and the second a noun which has that quality as *karuṇ-kutirai* (black horse). This also corresponds to a part of *viśēṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya*. *Ummaittokai*⁷ is that in which each has two or more members, the

1 It may be interesting to note that *tokai* in Tamil and *samāsa* in Sanskrit convey the same sense.

2 வேற்றுமைத் தொகையே யுவமத் தொகையே
வினையின் ரெகையே பண்பின் ரெகையே
யும்மைத்தொகையே யன்மொழித் தொகையென்
றவ்வா நென்ப தொகைமொழி நிலையே. (தொல். சொல். 412).

3 வேற்றுமைத் தொகையே வேற்றுமை யியல. (தொல். சொல். 413).

4 உவமத் தொகையே யுவம வியல. (தொல். சொல். 414).

5 வினையின் ரெகுதி காலத் தியலும். (தொல். சொல். 415).

6 வண்ணத்தின் வடிவி னளவிற் சுவையினென்
றன்ன பிறவு மதன்குண நுதலி
யின்ன திதுவென வருஉ மியற்கை
யென்ன கிளவியும் பண்பின் ரெகையே. (தொல். சொல். 416).

7 இருபெயர் பலபெய ரளவின் பெயரே
யெண்ணியற் பெயரே நிறைப்பெயர்க் கிளவி
யெண்ணின் பெயரோ டவ்வறு கிளவியுந்
கண்ணிய நிலத்தே யும்மைத் தொகையே. (தொல். சொல். 417).

members being connected with one another by 'and' and denoting persons, measures, numbers, weights etc., as *ṭuli-vir-keṇṭai* (tiger, bow and keṇṭai fish) etc. It corresponds to dvandva in Sanskrit. Anmolittokai¹ is the possessive compound, the members of which may stand to each other in any of the three relations—quality-noun relation, conjunctive relation and case-relation. It corresponds to Bahuvrīhi in Sanskrit.

It may be noted here that the *number* of compounds in Tamil agree with that of *primary* compounds in Sanskrit and the names given to them in Tamil are more suggestive of their function than those in Sanskrit. These compounds are treated in syntax as though they are single words².

The above classification of Tolkāppiyaṇār is fairly exhaustive; but such compounds as *karu-nīram*, *cārai-ṭ-ṭāmpu*, where both the members are either qualities or names which denote the genus and species of the same object, are not taken into account; but Cēṇāvaraiyar explains in his commentary on the same sūtra that they too are paṇputtokai, on the strength of the expression *enna-kīlaviyum*, which means 'similar words', in the sūtra.

All the later grammarians, except the authors of Vīracōliyam and Pirayōkavivēkam, i.e., the authors of Nēminātam, Naṇṇūl, Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam and Ilakkaṇakkottu agree, as regards the classification of compounds, with Tolkāppiyaṇār. And Naṇṇūlār tries to improve upon Tolkāppiyaṇār as regards the definition of paṇputtokai³ so that it may apply to compounds like *karu-nīram*, *cārai-ṭ-ṭāmpu* etc.

But the author of Vīracōliyam, who lived at the time of Vīrarājendra Cōla (1062 to 1070 A. D.) and preceded Naṇṇūlār, saw that a large number of Sanskrit compounds like *anīti*, *anītiyam* etc., were freely used in Tamil and they, along with some

1 பண்பு தொகவருடங் கிளவி யானு
மும்மை தொக்க பெயர்வயி னானும்
வேற்றுமை தொக்க பெயர்வயி னானும்
மீற்றுநின் நியலு மன்மொழித் தொகையே. (தொல். சொல். 418).

2 எல்லாத் தொகையு மொருசொன் னடைய. (தொல். சொல். 420).

3 பண்பை விளக்கும் மொழிதொக் கனவும்
ஒருபொருட் கு இருபெயர் வந்தவும் குணத்தொகை. (நன். 365.)

Tamil compounds like *karu-niram*, *panniru-toṭi*, *ten-kilakku*, could not be directly explained with the rules on compounds stated by Tolkāppiaṇār. Hence he began to classify them exactly in the same way as is done in Sanskrit :—*taṭpuruṣan* (tatpuruṣa) *palanel* (bahuvrīhi), *kaṇmatārayam* (karmadhāraya), *tuṇiku* (dvigu), *tuṇantuvam* (dvandva) and *avviyapāva* (avyayībhāva)¹. Some may say that he might have left out *avviyapāva* since examples for it are very rare ; it is true, but such words as *yatākkiramam*, the tadbhava of Skt. *yathākrama*, are sometimes found and they have to be explained.

The most important point to be noted in *Viracōliyam*, as also in *Pirayōkavivēkam* whose author closely follows that of *Viracōliyam* with some difference here and there, is that most of the stanzas found in the chapter dealing with compounds *tokaiṭṭaṭalam*, in both are exactly the translation of the *kārikās* on *saṁāsa* assigned to the authorship of Vararuci in Sanskrit. They are as follows :—

Vararuci

போடா சமாசாஸ்ச்ஹேபாடேகத்ரிஷ்டிதா: புன: ।
 ததாஷ்டதா தத்புரூப: சததா கர்மதாரய: ॥
 சததா ச வதுவிரிதித்ரிசுராபாஸிதா த்விதா ॥
 த்நுத்ருசுவதிவிதா ஜேயோஸ்யயிபாவஸ்திதா மத: ॥

Viracōliyam

தத்புருடன்பல நெற்கன்மதாரயந் தாங்கியசீர்
 நற்றுலிகுத்தொகை நாவார்துவந்துவ நல்லதெய்வச்
 சொற்பயன்மாதர்க ளவ்வியபாவ மிதென்றுதொன்மை
 கற்பமகமாப்பகர்ந் தார்தொகையாறுங் கனங்குழையே.
 (வீரசோ. தொகை, 2.)

Pirayōkavivēkam

தத்புருடன்றுலிகுப்பல நெற்கன்ம தாரயனோ
 நெப்பல வானெடுங் கட்பசுந் தேமொழி யொண்டொடியாய்
 சொற்பயி லவ்வி யயீபாவ மேனைத் துவத்தனெனக்
 கற்பவர் கூறுஞ் சமாசன்க ளெதொகைக் கட்டளையே.
 (பிரயோக. மாச. 3.)

¹ தத்புருடன்பல நெற்கன்மதாரயந் தாங்கியசீர்
 நற்றுலிகுத்தொகை நாவார்துவந்துவ நல்ல தெய்வச்
 சொற்பயன்மாதர்க ளவ்வியபாவ மிதென்றுதொன்மை
 கற்பகமாப்பகர்ந் தார்தொகையாறுங் கனங்குழையே.
 (வீரசோ. தொகை. 2.)

तत्पुरुषोऽष्टविधोऽभूत्प्रथमादिविभक्तिनञ्कृतैर्भेदैः ।

.....
स चैकवद्भाव्यनेकवद्भावीति द्विधा द्विगुः ॥

எழுவாய்முதலெழு வேற்றுமையோடு மெழுந்தடையில்
வழுவாதநஞ்ஞாடெட் டாந்தற்புருடன் வளர்துவீகு
தழுவார்த்தவெண்மொழி முன்னுப்பவருந் தத்திதப்பொருண்மேற்
குழுவாரொருமை யொப்புப்பன்மை யொப்புக்குறி யிரண்டே.
(வீரசோ. தொகை. 3.)

தற்புரு டத்தொகை வேற்றுமை யெட்டனுட் சார்த்த நஞ்ஞுச்
சொற்பொரு ளன்மை மறையின்மை காட்டுந் தொகைத்துவீகு
முற்பத மெண்பிற் பதந்தத்திதார்த்த முடித்துமெழுஉம்
பற்பல வேகவற் பாவியநேகவற் பாவியென்றே.
(பிரயோக. சமாச. 4.)

सप्तभिराख्याभिर्वा विख्यातो यस्स वै बहुव्रीहिः ।

.....
द्वाभ्यां पदाभ्यां बहुभिः पदैर्वा सङ्ख्याभिर्वाय्यन्यपदं द्वयं वा ।
यस्याभवत्पूर्वपदे सहश्च दिगन्तरालव्यतिहारलक्ष्मा ॥

இருமொழிபன்மொழி பின்மொழி யெண்ணோடிருமொழியெண்
மருவும் வீதியா ரிலக்கணமற்றைச் சகமுன்மொழி
பரவுந்திகந்தரா ளத்தொகையன்னப் பலநெற்றொகை
விரியுமோரோழவை வேற்றுமொழிப் பொருண் மெல்லியலே.
(வீரசோ. தொகை. 4.)

இருமொழி பன்மொழி பின்மொழி யெண்ணோ டிருமொழியெண்
டருமொழி யொற்றொழி திக்கந் தானஞ் சகமுனிற்கு
மொருமொழி யேனைவிதி காரலக்கணத்தோடு வரும்
பெருமொழி யாகிவெகு விரியன் மொழிப்பே ரடைந்தே.
(பிரயோக. சமாச. 7.)

कविभिस्सप्तविधस्यादित्येवं कर्मधारयः कथितः ।

.....
विशेषणं पूर्वपदे विशेष्यं तयोभयत्रापि विशेषणं च ।

यस्योपमानं परतस्तदादौ सम्भावना चाध्यवधारणा च ॥

முன்மொழிப்பண்பு மிருமொழிபண்பு மொழிந்தமைந்த
பின்மொழியொப்பொடுமுன்மொழியொப்பும்பிணக்கொன்றிலா
முன்மொழிநற்கருத் துன்முன்மொழிநற் துணிவு மென
நன்மொழியார்கண்ம தாரயமாறென்ன நாட்டினரே.
(வீரசோ. தொகை. 5.)

முன்மொழிப் பண்பிரு பண்பு விசேடிய முன்மொழிதன்
முன்மொழித் துல்லியம் பின்மொழித் துல்லியமொய்குழலாய்
முன்மொழிச் சம்பா வனையவ தாரண முற்றுமலை
நன்மொழிப் பண்புத் தொகைக் கன்ம தாரண நற்றமிழ்க்கே.

(பிரயோக. சமாச. 5.)

[Here the author of Virācōliyam omitted the class where the noun qualified by the adjective stands as the first member of the compound (विशेष्यं पूर्वपद) since, perhaps, it was difficult for him to find an example for it in Tamil language; and hence he stated that Kaṇmatārayam is of 6 kinds, instead of 7 as found in Sanskrit. But the author of Pirayōkavivēkam has included it also and gives தெய்வப்புலவன் நிருவன்னுவன் as an example for it.]

यत्राव्ययं पूर्वपदं यथा वा सुबन्तमाहो द्वितयं सुबन्तम् ।

पूर्वोऽपि मुख्यो बहुशः पदार्थस्तथाव्ययीभावमितीरयन्ति ॥

स हि द्वन्द्वश्चतुर्धा स्याद्वधैरिति विनिश्चितः ।

इतरेतरयोगाख्यः समाहाराख्यस्तथा ॥

1 முன்மொழியவ்வியஞ்சேர் தொகை பேர்முன் மொழித்தொகை
சொன்மொழியவ்விய பாவ மருவுந் துவந்துவமும் [யே
வன்மொழியாமிதி ரேதாம் வாய்ந்த சமாகாரமா
நன்மொழியானுரைத் தார்கள் சமாச நறுநுதலே.

(வீரசோ. தொகை. 6.)

முன்மொழிப் பேர்ச்சொ லிடைச்சொ லிரண்டு முாணி நிற்குந்
தன்மொழி யவ்வி யய்பாவ மும்மைச் சகாரத்திலே
யின்மொழித் தொந்தன்² சமாகாரத்தோடிதரேதாமா
மன்மொழித் தோற்றமுஞ் சமுச்சயத் தோமென் வாசயமே.

(பிரயோக. சமாச. 6.)

तत्पुरुषोऽष्टविधोऽभूत्.... ।

उत्तरपदजनितार्थः प्रायो मुख्यः..... ॥

..... द्विगुः ।

अस्यापि पण्डितैरन्तर्भावस्तत्पुरुषे मतः ॥

¹ He has not mentioned that class of avyayibhāva where the members are nouns, as madhyēgāram since such words have not been taken into Tamil language.

² Cf. Bhattōji Dīkṣita's vṛtti on चार्थे द्वन्द्वः—'समुच्चयान्वाचयेत-
रेतरयोगसमाहाराश्चार्थाः'

.... कर्मधारयः कथितः ।

तत्पुरुषान्तर्भावात्तद्व्याधान्यमीरितं चास्य ॥

प्राधान्यं प्रायशोऽस्मिन्नुभयोः स्यात्पदार्थयोः ।

स हि द्वन्द्वः.....

தற்புரு டன்றுவி குக்கர்ம் தாரயன் றுமுதன்மை
பிற்பத மாமெழு வாயா மொளுத்தொகை பெண்ணணங்கே
முற்பத மவ்விய யயீபாவ மொப்புமுறை பிறமுஞ்
சொற்பதந் தொக்கவை யெல்லா முதன்மை துவந்தனுக்கே.

(பிரயோக. சமாச. 8.)

The statement 'அவ்வியயீபாவ மொப்புமுறை பிறமும்' which means that the relative importance of the first or second member in avyayībhāva and upamita samāsa will change, is made on the strength of the words प्रायः and बहुशः in 'उत्तरपदजनितार्थः प्रायो मुख्यः' and 'पूर्वोऽपि मुख्यो बहुशः पदार्थः' respectively. The author of Viracōḷiyam, having dealt with this classification of compounds in 5 stanzas, mentions also the classification made by Tolkāppiaṇār as the opinion of a class of Tamilians.

The only point of difference between these two kinds of classification is only with respect to avyayībhāva and nañtatpuruṣa, since other tatpuruṣas, dvandva and bahuvrīhi are identically the same as vēṛṛumaittokai, ummaittokai and aṇmolittokai, though with different names, and karmadhāraya and dvigu may somehow or other be brought under uvamattokai, viṇaittokai and paṇputtokai.

BUDDHADATTA.

By

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Buddhadatta, the father of Buddhist Exegetical Literature, flourished in South India about the 4th Century A. D. He unquestionably belongs to a generation of scholars earlier than the reputed Buddhaghosa whose Pāli commentaries have obtained great publicity and acceptance during the last 800 years and more to the detriment of Buddhadatta's works. These latter have been of late subjected to so much neglect that there is not a single monastery in Burma to my knowledge, where the works are studied or taught at the present day. So complete has been the eclipsing of Buddhadatta, by the fame of his over-rated successor.

Tradition has taught that the two great commentators lived at the same time and that their works were almost synchronous in point of their composition. Even apart from the fabulous element in the Burmese (Buddhaghosuppatti) account, a close student of Pāli Literature will find in it very little indeed that may be reconciled with the simplest canons of textual criticism. In early Pāli Literature, it is always true that the more prolix the style, the later the work. Buddhadatta's works are all marked by a highly epigrammatic style which had its vogue during the early centuries of the Christian Era. Again Buddhadatta's mode of presenting his matter is further evidence of the priority of his works. It is different from, though as valuable as, that of the patiniddesā, the method of Buddhaghosa's expositions.

The attempt to make the two teachers contemporaries of each other is rendered still more difficult by a statement in the epilogue to the Sammoha vinodanī, ascribed to Buddhaghosa. The statement in question asserts that the work was undertaken at the instance of another Buddhaghosa, so that there were at least 2 Buddhaghosas living about the 4 or 5th Century A. D. Buddhadatta was not only a predecessor of Buddhaghosa but one whose works are presupposed by, and paved the way for, the works of Buddhaghosa.

The Śāsanālaṅkāra, following the tradition, makes them both co-contemporaries of the Talaing king San Lan Krom, who ruled at Arimaddanapura in Burma, the modern Pagan on the banks of the Irrawaddy. This San Lan Krom was in all probability a member of the Śālaṅkāyana Dynasty of kings who, as far as historical records (most of them copper-plates) prove, from the time of Samudragupta till 350 A. D. continued to be kings (Mahārājās) at Veṅḡipura, on the Coromandel coast, noted for their naval power and maritime commerce. The same kings seem to have extended their patronage to the Buddhist Clergy resident at Kāñcīpura and elsewhere in their dominions. It is also noteworthy that this same San Lan Krom is credited with the introduction of Buddhism into Burma.

The fact that the Śālaṅkāyana kings are not mentioned in the works of Buddhadatta, however, cannot tell us much, not even that Buddhadatta himself had never travelled up to Burma, where amongst the Clergy his works soon grew popular and came to be used in the chief monasteries; for the name of the Ceylonese king of the period, too, is absent in his chief commentaries. All these, however, contain a reference to a ruler at Uragapura the modern Uraiyūr,¹ then a flourishing port on the banks of the Kāverī Delta. To Accuta Vikrama of the Kadamba line of kings, Buddhadatta, though a clergyman, had attached himself as a minister according to the prevailing custom there. Ilandatta, the name under which Buddhadatta is known to Tamil Buddhists, is mentioned with due deference in early Tamil Literature, as the chief advisor of the ruling king at Uraiyūr. In the light of this evidence, we can explain why from his works, the names of other contemporary kings have been excluded and all the tribute of the acknowledgement is paid to his official patron. Kings of Ancient India, especially those in the south, have regularly had for such advisors or ministers, competent scholars who might be Brahmins or monks.

By birth, Buddhadatta belonged to India, though to Ceylon is due the credit of giving him his education. His own words

¹ It should be remembered in this connection that the correct view seems to be that *Uragapura* in Sanskrit does not correspond to Uraiyūr but corresponds to the old *Ālavāy* or the Sanskritised *Hāṭṭasya* which answers to the modern Madura in the South. Kālidāsa mentions *Uragapura* in verse 59 of canto, VI which corresponds to the modern Madura. S. K. Sastri.]

lead us to think that he was born in a Brahmin family at Urugapura, the flourishing seaport which swarmed with metropolitan markets, and men of all nationalities. It is situated at the head of the Kāverī Delta and in the first centuries of the Christian Era could be reached by flat-bottomed coasting vessels. It was the capital of the Cola country which was proverbial for its fertility of soil, luxuriant vegetation and extensive fields.

Buddhadatta has not left us much information about his boyhood. We must surmise that he received the usual Brahminical training in his childhood and acquired from his parents the love of truth and a thirst for knowledge and above all his inimitable courage of conviction. His intimate knowledge of certain Brahmin customs and speculations would lead us to believe that it was acquired before his conversion to Buddhism and before the restrictive rules of Buddhist monachism could effectively narrow his vision of the outer world.

We next find him as a member of the local clergy, residing at the Kelasa Vihāra, on a hill a mile from Urugapura, built by Kanhadāsa or Venhugopa, another Kadamba King of a previous generation. This Venhudāsa is the same Viṣṇudāsa, whose conversion of the Cola King is detailed in the 10th Chapter of Viṣṇupurāṇa. He does not however seem to have won any degree of distinction at Kelasa Vihāra about this period. He must have felt that his education could not be completed without a trip across the channel to Ceylon and an intercourse with the monks of Anūrādhāpura, whose fame of Buddhist scholarship reached, even at that early time, such remote places as China and Tibet. Accordingly Buddhadatta crossed the seas, by native sailing vessels and arrived at the Cola port in Ceylon. Next we hear that he spent a number of years in Ceylon at the Mahāvihāra, the great monastery at Anūrādhāpura. It appears that foreign students migrating to Ceylon for study went to this particular monastery, though there were other towns as well with great monasteries in them.

Here he appears to have composed his earliest work a quasi-clerical work, wrongly attributed to Buddharakkhita. This poem which occupies a peculiarly high position in the realm of Pāli poetry, analogous to that of Milinda Panha in Pāli Prose, pays in language of the highest order and prosody of the greatest complexity, meet praise to the Great Leader who renounced the world and found the True way. "*Jinālaṅkāra*" recalls the most

exquisite of Sanskrit poems with any of which it would bear quite favourable comparison. The author, though a clergyman, is yet young, full of life and emotion, and paints most gorgeous descriptions of life and men.

The Enlightened one is praised for his extraordinary power of determination in resisting the charms of the palace. Making that a basis, Buddhadatta most poetically portrays the features and lineaments of Princess Yaśodharā the mother of Rāhula. Unique in Pāli Literature, it has its parallel only in the works of Sanskrit writers like Bāṇa and Kālidāsa.

Jinālaṅkāra established the repute of Buddhadatta as a most venerable member of the Order and as one of the best writers of Pāli verse. Recognised throughout Ceylon as a great scholar, he was much in requirement at the court of other Buddhist princes, for Buddhadatta was invited by the kings of Veṅgi, whose patronage had set the Buddhist school at Kāñcīpura on a sound basis, as well as by the Chief of Miladu. It is not unlikely that Buddhadatta was consulted, if not actually deputed, in connection with introducing Buddhism into Burma, where the kings of Veṅgi, the Śālaṅkāyanas, had made more or less permanent settlements.

During the years of his residence at Anūrādhāpura he should have studied the Sinhalese commentaries in the original, for there is no evidence to show that they were available in any other tongue at the time. The work of translating or exploiting the Sinhalese commentaries still waited to be done by scholars like himself. Buddhaghosa, whose name has cast that of Buddhadatta into the obscurest shade, chose to translate the commentaries, just as any competent scholar wanting the capacity for independent thought and original composition, might prefer to render into another language what has already been written in one, and deserves the respect that is due to all honest work. But Buddhadatta's choice was different, and the divergence in aim and achievement of the two great authors is a direct consequence of this. Buddhadatta saw that though the act of translation did not demand of its votary much more than a mastery of the vocabulary and idioms of the foreign language, it was yet too slow and tedious a process to be attempted with reference to the Buddhist writings by any single scholar. The works in Sinhalese were as numerous as they were of value and a scholar might not hope to help Buddhist culture to any appreciable extent by translating

even six or seven of the copious Sinhalese commentaries. Thus it was that he preferred to give in a few original works of his own, all the knowledge of the Sinhalese exegetical literature he was able to acquire in a life-time. His works therefore stand as a remarkable achievement, presenting in Pāli valuable information available till his time only in Sinhalese. The matter of the Sinhalese book is allowed to pass through 'the prism of a vigorous intellect' and expressed in a style of writing hardly less than the greatest.

According to the Gandhavaṃśa, Buddhadatta composed five works in all, namely,

1. The 'Jinālaṅkāra' -a votive Wreath for the Jina.
2. The 'Vinaya Vinicchāyā' -Vinaya determined.
3. The 'Uttara Vinicchāyā' -Further issues determined.
4. The 'Abhidhammāvatāra' -Introduction to Abhidhamma. preceded by the 'Rūpārūpa Vibhāga'.
5. The 'Madhurārtha Vilāsinī' The commentary on Buddhavaṃśa.

A close student of Buddhadatta will surely be struck by the unity that marks the group of Buddhadatta's works. I, for one, perceive a scheme which gives to each of the works a definite place as a part of a bigger whole. *Jinālaṅkāra*, the earliest is the tribute of an earnest follower who has chosen to dedicate his life to the study of the Master's words and to the promulgation of the gospel. Next, in 'Vinaya Vinicchāyā' the practical life of self-control and discipline, pronounced by the Buddha as indispensable to the attainment of the ideal, is studied analytically and rendered available for future generations in Pāli. The settlement of doubtful points left undecided in the Vinaya Vinicchāyā forms the subject matter of the Uttara Vinicchāyā. In the next work, the whole of the Abhidhamma Literature, another of 'the three baskets of the Law,' is summarised, nay crystallised, in classical Pāli verse. The 'Rūpārūpa Vibhāga' appears to have preceded the 'Abhidhamma-Avatāra' in which it now forms a part and has been modelled on Sāṅkhya lines of classification. The "Abhidhamma-Avatāra" on account of its comparative brevity has unfortunately been classed amongst 'Lethans' or 'handbooks' of Buddhist Philosophy. The misnomer is irritating in the extreme. One who has read the Abhidhamma Avatāra

and also the Sanskrit Sūtras of Yoga or Nyāya tends to place the Abhidhamma Avatāra amongst the most important works on philosophy.

To the Sutta Piṭaka, or the mass of tradition that had been accumulating ever since the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, threatening to mystify and obscure the personage it was intended to glorify, Buddhadatta must have given his attention as to some serious cause of dread. Accordingly, in his commentary on the Buddhavaṃśa which is by itself an almost unintelligible fragment of antiquity, Buddhadatta preserves what in his opinion deserved such preservation.

Thus we see that he has done what was distinctly above the capacity of a mere commentator who, when stripped of the halo of a remote past, is no better than a dignified annotator. Buddhadatta aimed very high and gave to the world, within the compass of about four thousand verses, the entire Buddhist religious literature, extending from the old traditional stories and legends to the most practical points of religious life and thence to the most abstruse philosophical literature. His work is marked by an anxiety to give to the Buddhist faith the status of an organised religious system, strong in its principles and steady and unequivocating in its statement of them and backed by an acceptable system of psychology and metaphysics. His ambition was to raise Buddhism from a popular, uncertain, superstitious congeries to the high level of other Indian philosophical systems by giving it in the learned tongue, Pāli, a new body of unexceptionable literature similar to the Sutta Literature of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Vaiśeṣika schools. It will be no exaggeration to say that the Vibhajjāvādin School, so very influential for centuries, owed much to the pioneer work of Buddhadatta.

Though none could have realised better than Buddhadatta himself the supreme importance of the work and the value of his own services to Buddhism, he most rigorously excluded from his works references to himself, as though it were his intention to show the world how thoroughly convinced he himself was in the 'no-soul' theory he established as Law. His work reminds us of the practice of modern scientists who write treatises on their subjects more to give the world what they have discovered of the Truth than to make their work an occasion for personal advertisement and self-display. Selfless is Buddhadatta to the extreme and it is only a very careful scrutiny coupled with a desire to

know the author from his work that reveals to us glimpses, dim and distant, of the great genius who came forward for the first time to restore in all its pristine purity the Buddhist faith that might otherwise have been lost in the mazes of popular superstition or absorbed irrecoverably in the Hindu Religion.

FRAGMENTS OF MĀTRGUPTĀCĀRYA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.,

LIBRARIAN, ADYAR LIBRARY.

Mātrgupta occupies a very important place in the galaxy of poetico-rhetoricians. Why time has thrown into oblivion the works of such an illustrious author as Mātrgupta, it is difficult to imagine. So far we have not been able to unearth any of the lost works of Mātrgupta. Consequently an attempt is made in this paper to bring together all available quotations from the works of that author and present them to the world of scholars in a connected form.

Indian History is very cruel with regard to the age, activities, nativity and personal history of most of the important figures in the political as well as literary history of Ancient India. Still there are a few living figures for us in this distance of time. Mātrgupta is one of those few. While his works are lost, his personal history is well-known. We have sufficient records to determine the exact date and period of this writer; materials regarding his personal history are also available. He therefore does not share the fate which is common to most of the Sanskrit writers.

Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī gives the following account of Mātrgupta:—

Harṣavardhana, alias Vikramāditya, had in his court a poet by name Mātrgupta¹. He was very conservative and consequently was not prepared to push himself up to royal favour of his own accord. The king was not unaware of the high poetic talents and deep culture of his protegee; but he intentionally ignored him. In absolute poverty, without proper food, decent clothing, and timely sleep, the poet continued to serve his master with diligence. He knew no comfort.

At last the time came when his stars began to exert their influence, being in the ascendant. On a particular night it happened by chance that all the guards were asleep; the lamp which was dimly burning in the apartments of the king was put

1. Refer to Rājatarāṅgiṇī III—129-229.

out by a strong wind; the king wanted the lamp to be re-lit but there was no servant to do it. He shouted at the top of his voice but there was no response from any of the guards. Mātr-gupta who was waiting at the gate entered and did the needful. While he was about to retire, the king wanted to know his exact position in life and asked him how he alone was awake at that dead hour of night. The poet composed the following verse on the spur of the moment.

शीतेनोद्धृषितस्य माषशिमिवाच्चिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः

शान्ताग्निं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।

निद्रा काप्यवमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता

सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

Rājatarangiṇī III—181.

On hearing this verse, the king realised the sin he had committed by neglecting his duty in not having recognised the merits of the poor, needy and eminent poet and began to contemplate as to how best he could expiate the sin.

At dawn he rose, having already come to a conclusion with regard to Mātrgupta. The kingdom of Kāśmir was then without a ruler. That kingdom was his vassalage and the responsibility of finding a suitable ruler to that country devolved upon Harṣa. Now he called upon Mātrgupta and handed over to him a note in which there was an order to his ministers at Kāśmir that Mātrgupta should be anointed their king, and bade Mātrgupta deliver it unto the hands of his ministers at Kāśmir and do as they required. The poet was unaware of what the king had written and did as ordered. He marched along to Kāśmir with many auspicious omens at every step. And as soon as he delivered the Royal message, he was anointed king of that country. We also learn from Kalhaṇa that he was not of the same place to which Harṣavardhana belonged. Probably he was a Southerner.

This is the story of Mātrgupta which we find narrated in the Rājatarangiṇī. Whatever might be the actual significance of this anecdote, the following incontrovertible facts could be deduced from this account.

i. that Mātrgupta was a contemporary of king Harṣavardhana;

- ii. that he was a king of Kāśmir; and
- iii. that he was a great poet.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī itself mentions him as a contemporary of poet Bhartṛmēṭha and this fits in well with other facts. Consequently the date of Mātrgupta synchronises with that of Śrī Harṣa (606—647 A. D.).

About the works of Mātrgupta we have absolutely no information. We are not in a position to definitely postulate what works he might have written. From the evidences available, the following facts could be gathered.

I. He might have commented on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. The basis of this conjecture is as follows :—

On page 348 of the India Office Catalogue we find the description of a manuscript called Nāṭyapradīpa. Therein the author Sundaramiśra makes the following statement—

तत्र भरतः—

आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता नित्यं यस्मात्प्रयुज्यते ।

देवद्विजन्तृपादीनां तस्मान्नान्दीति संज्ञिता ॥

सूत्रधारः पठेत्तत्र मध्यमं स्वरमाश्रितः ।

नान्दी पदैर्द्वादशभिरष्टाभिर्वाप्यलङ्कृता ॥

अस्य व्याख्याने मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः षोडशाङ्घ्रिपदान्विता इयं उदाहृता ॥

From this it is possible to draw two conclusions (*i. e.*) that Mātrgupta commented upon the Nāṭyaśāstra or that he commented upon the two verses given above in some context or other. The more probable of the two conjectures is that he commented upon the whole work.

II. Mātrgupta should have been a poet of no mean order. The verses ascribed to him by Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī, by Vallabhadeva in his Subhāṣitāvalī, by Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā—all speak for themselves. These verses might have been composed at random, or they might have formed part of a complete work; but about that we have no information at present.

III. Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala, Sarvānanda in his commentary on the Amarakośa, Vāsudeva in his commentary on the Karpūramañjarī and certain other writers give copious extracts from an unknown work of Mātrguptācārya. That unknown work should have been an extensive one, dealing

with rhetoric, dancing, rasas, principles of literary criticism and so on. The work should have been modelled on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.

Before proceeding to the actual quotations themselves one or two points have to be cleared with regard to Mātrgupta's date and identity. Mātrgupta cannot be identified with Kālidāsa as Mr. Bhau Dhaji seems to surmise. The arguments of Bhau Dhaji have been systematically refuted by various scholars and those arguments need not be repeated here again.

Dr. De in his "Sanskrit Poetics" says, with regard to Mātrgupta :—"and probably he (Mātrgupta) belongs to comparatively recent times, being certainly unknown to Abhinavagupta, Dhanika and other writers".¹ From this it is clear that Dr. De regards Mātrgupta, the ālaṅkārika to be different from the protege of Harṣavardhana. Dr. De admits that Mātrgupta is referred to by Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśikā and consequently Mātrgupta should have flourished either in the 11th or 12th century (*i. e.*) later than Abhinavagupta and earlier than Śāradātanaya.

Now it needs only to be pointed out that Dr. De was not correct when he remarked that he was unknown to Abhinavagupta. In his Abhinavabhārati, Abhinavagupta mentions Mātrgupta and quotes a verse of his. The passage is this:—

यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितम्

Page 944 of Vol. IV, of the
Adyar manuscript of the Abhinavabhārati.

Kuṇṭaka an immediate successor of Abhinavagupta mentions Mātrgupta by name in his Vakroktijīva. The relevant extract is given below.

अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शनं पुनः क्रियते । यथा—मातृगुप्तः—मञ्जीरप्रभु-
तीनां सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दीनि काव्यानि सम्भवन्ति ।

Now that the only objection which Dr. De has in identifying the contemporary of Harṣavardhana with the ālaṅkārika has been removed, we believe that Dr. De will reconsider his position. There does not seem to be any serious difficulty in regarding the two Mātrguptas identical.

Now with regard to the name of Mātrgupta, the following variations occur. A manuscript of the Tīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda

1. Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 33.

belonging to the Adyar Library calls him Mātraguṇḍa in one place and Mantragupta in another place. This difference may be due to scribal errors. Abhinavagupta gives him the title Bhaṭṭa. We may now proceed to the actual quotations themselves.

MĀTRGUṆḍA, A POET

नायं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंसः

कीरीकपोलतलकान्ततनुशशाङ्कः ।

आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धु-

डिण्डीरपिण्डपरिपाण्डु यशस्वदीयम् ॥

P. 142 of Kṣemendra's

Aucityavicāracarcā. N. S. Ed.

नाकारमुद्रहसि नैव विकथसे त्वं

दिक्सां न सूचयति[सि] मुञ्चसि सत्फलानि ।

निशब्दवर्षणमिवाम्बुधरस्य राजन्

संलक्ष्यते फलत एव तव प्रसादः ॥

No. 2550 in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī.

शीतेनोद्धतस्य माषशिमिवचिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः

शान्ताग्निं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।

निद्रा काप्यवमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता

सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

No. 318I do. and also

Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

MĀTRGUṆḍA, AN ĀLĀṆKĀRIKA.

DEFINITION OF SŪTRADHĀRA.

चतुरातोद्यनिष्णातोऽनेकभूषासमावृतः ।

नानाभाषणतत्त्वज्ञो नीतिशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित् ॥¹

वैश्वयोपचारचतुरः पौरुषेयविचक्षणः ॥⁴

1. This is quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa also in his commentary on the Śākuntala. p. 5. N. S. Ed.

2. वैश्वो is the reading adopted by Raṅganātha in his commentary on the Vikramorvaśīya, p. 5. N. S. Ed.

3. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's reading is पौरुषेण. p. 5. N. S. Ed.; Raṅganātha also, has the same reading. p. 5.

4. Between this and the next line, Rāghavabhaṭṭa has some more lines.

तत्तद्गीतानुगानेककलातालावधारणः² ॥

अवधार्य प्रयोक्ता च योक्तृणामुपदेशकः ।

एवंगुणगणोपेतस्सूत्रधारस्स⁴ उच्यते ॥

Pages 5, 6. Vāsudeva's commentary on the
Karpūramañjarī. N. S. Ed.

Vāsudeva in his extract from Mātrgupta's definition of Sūtradhāra has omitted some lines and they are supplied by Rāghavabhaṭṭa. They are :

नानागतिप्रचारज्ञो रसभावविशारदः ।

नाट्यप्रयोगनिपुणो नानाशिल्पकलान्वितः ।

छन्दोविधानतत्त्वज्ञस्सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥⁵

Ś. Com. P. 5. N. S. Ed.

ON THE DEFINITION OF NĀNDĪ

आशीर्निमस्क्रियारूपः श्लोकः काव्यार्थसूचकः ।

नान्दीति कथ्यते.....

Rāṅganātha on Vikramorvaśīya, p. 4; 7.

EFFECTS OF THE STAGE, DRESS ETC. ON RASA :

रसास्तु त्रिविधा वाचिकनेपथ्यस्वभावजाः ।

रसानुरूपैरालापैः श्लोकैर्वाक्यैः पदैस्तथा ॥

नानालङ्कारसंयुक्तैर्वाचिको रस उच्यते ।

कर्मरूपवयोजातिदेशकालानुवर्तिभिः ॥

माल्यभूषणवस्त्राद्यैर्नेपथ्यरस उच्यते ।

रूपयौवनलावण्यस्थैर्यद्यैर्यादिभिर्गुणैः ॥

1. तत्तद्गीतानुगलय is Rāghavabhaṭṭa's reading ; also Rāṅganātha p. 6.

2. कलतालावधारणः is Rāṅganātha's reading. p. 6.

3. अवधार्य is found in Rāghava's Commentary ; also Rāṅganātha p. 6.

4. अभिधीयते is Rāghava's reading;

निगद्यते is Rāṅganātha's reading p. 6.

5. These lines are quoted by Rāṅganātha also in his Com. on Vikramorvaśīya.

रसस्वाभाविको ज्ञेयस्स च नाट्ये प्रशस्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 7.

ON THE PRAKṚTS TO BE USED IN A DRAMA :

प्राक्प्रतीचीभुवोः सिन्धोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्यशैलयोः ।

अन्तरावस्थितं देशमार्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

आर्यावर्तप्रसूतासु सर्वास्वेव हि जातिषु ।

शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्ये प्रयोजयेत् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 8.

ON THE DEFINITION OF A NĀṬAKA :

प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयं धीरोदात्तादिनायकम् ।

राजर्षिवंशचरितं तथा दिव्याश्रयान्वितम् ॥

युक्तं वृद्धिविलासाद्यैर्गुणैर्नानाविभूतिभिः ।

शृङ्गारवीरान्यतरप्रधानरससंश्रयम् ॥

प्रकृत्यवस्थासन्ध्यङ्गसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।

पताकास्थानकैर्वृत्तं पतङ्गैश्च प्रवृत्तिभिः ॥

नाट्यालङ्कारणैर्नानाभाषायुक्पात्रसञ्चयैः ।

अङ्गप्रवेशकैराढ्यं रसभावसमुज्ज्वलम् ॥

सुखदुःखोत्पत्तिकृतं चरितं यच्च भूभृताम् ।

इतिवृत्तं कथोद्भूतं किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ॥

नाटकं नाम तज्ज्ञेयं रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभिः ॥

Ibid. p. 9.

स्वैरङ्गैश्चापि वीथ्यङ्गैः प्रकुर्यादामुखं बुधः ॥

Ibid. p. 13.

ON BĪJA LAKṢAṆA AND ITS PECULIARITIES :

कचित्कारणमात्रं तु कचिच्च फलदर्शनम् ।

कचिदारम्भमात्रं तु फलमुक्त्वा क्रिया कचित् ॥

व्यापारश्च विशेषोक्तः कचिद्वा फलसाधकः ।

बहुधा रूपेकप्रेवं बीजरूपेण दृश्यते ॥

फले यस्य हि संहारः फलबीजं तु तद्भवेत् ।

वस्तुबीजं कथा ज्ञेया अर्थबीजं तु नायकः ॥

Ibid. p. 15.

ON THE LANGUAGES TO BE SPOKEN BY THE VARIOUS CHARACTERS :

संमतानां देवतानां राजन्यामात्यसैनिके ।

वणिग्जागधसूतानां पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 15.

ON THE OCCASIONAL USE OF SANSKRIT BY NĪCA CHARACTERS :

योज्यं विदूषकोन्मत्तबालतापसयोषिताम् ।

नीचानां पण्डकानां च नीचग्रहविकारिणाम् ॥

विद्वद्भिः प्राकृतं कार्यं कारणात्संस्कृतं क्वचित् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 126.

ON THE DEFINITION OF BHŪṢANA¹ :

उपमाद्यैरलङ्कारैर्गुणैः श्लेषादिभिस्तथा ।

रत्नाढ्यैर्वहुभिर्युक्तं भूषणैरिव भूषणम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 20.

ON WHAT IS KNOWN AS ANTARASANDHI :

स्वप्नो दूतश्च लेखश्च नेपथ्योक्तिस्तथैव च ।

आकाशवचनं चेति ज्ञेया ह्यन्तरसन्धयः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 20.

ON THE DEFINITION OF SAṆCĀRIKĀ :

गृहकक्षाविचारिण्यः तथोपवनसञ्चराः ।

यामेषु च नियुक्तानां यामशुद्धिविशारदाः ।

साञ्चारिकास्तु ता ज्ञेया यवन्योऽपि मताः क्वचित् ॥

Ibid. p. 57.

ON THE DEFINITION OF SENĀPATI :

शीलवान्सत्त्वसम्पन्नस्त्यक्तालस्यः प्रियंवदः ।

पररन्ध्रान्तराभिज्ञो यात्राकालविशेषवित् ॥

अस्त्रशस्त्रादितत्त्वज्ञो लोके चाक्रम[वक्र]तां गतः ।

देशवित्कालविच्चैव भवेत्सेनापतिर्गुणैः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 62.

ON THE DEFINITION OF HASITA :

विकासितकपोलान्तमुत्फुल्लामललोचनम् ।

किञ्चिल्लक्षितदन्ताग्रं हसितं तद्विदो विदुः ॥

1. Thirty six varieties of bhūṣana have been mentioned by Bharata in his Nāṭyasāstra. Dhanika tries to combine all of them into one.

.....
उत्तमस्य समुद्दिष्टं स्मितं हसितमेव च ॥ *Ibid.* p. 74-75.

ON THE USE OF PATĀKĀSTHĀNAKA :

मुखे प्रतिमुखे गर्भे विमर्शे च चतुर्ध्वपि ।
भेदास्सन्धिषु कर्तव्याः पताकास्थानकस्य तु ॥ *Ibid.* p. 110.

ON THE DEFINITION OF THE THIRD
PĀTĀKĀSTHĀNAKA :

अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्र¹ गूढं² सविनयं³ भवेत् ।
श्लिष्टाप्रत्युत्तरोपेतं तृतीयं तन्मतं तथा ॥ *Ibid.* p. 123.

ON THE DEFINITION OF KAṆCUKIN :

ये नित्यं सत्यसम्पन्नाः कामदोषविवर्जिताः ।
ज्ञानविज्ञानकुशलाः कञ्चुकीयास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 154.

ON THE DEFINITION OF PRATĪHĀRI :

सन्धिविग्रहसम्बद्धं नानाकार्यसमुत्थितम् ।
निवेदयन्ति याः कार्यं प्रतीहार्यस्तु तास्मृताः ॥
Ibid. p. 156.

ON THE DEFINITION PARICĀRIKĀ :

संवाहने च गन्धे च तथा चैव प्रसाधने ।
तथाभरणसंयोगमाल्यसङ्ग्रहनेषु च ।
विज्ञेया नामतः सा तु नृपतेः परिचारिका ॥ *Ibid.* p. 199.

ON PHALAYOGA :

यदाधिकारिकं वस्तु सम्यक्प्राज्ञैः प्रयुज्यते ।
तदर्थो यस्समारम्भस्तत्कार्यं कथ्यते इति ॥
अभिप्रेतं समर्थं च प्रतिरूपं क्रियाफलम् ।
इतिवृत्तं भवेद्यस्मिन्फलयोगस्स उच्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 230.

1. यत्, is another reading. *Ibid.* p. 151.

2. न गूढं is another reading. *Ibid.* p. 123.

3. सविनं is the other reading. *Ibid.* p. 123.

4. श्लिष्टप्रत्युत्तरोपेतं— *Ibid.* p. 151.

ON ADBHUTA RASA :

अद्भुतो विस्मयः स्थायिभावप्रभव उच्यते ।
 प्रासादोद्यानशैलादिगमनैर्दिव्यदर्शनैः ॥
 सभाविमानमायेन्द्रजालशिल्पादिदर्शनैः ।
 हृदयेप्सितलाभैश्च विभावैस्तस्य सम्भवः ॥

P. 145 Tīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda,
 T. S. S. Edition.

ON BĪBHATSA RASA :

विकृतैः पूतिमांसादिदर्शनश्रुतिकीर्तनैः ।
 विभावैर्जायते चासौ बीभत्सो नीचसंश्रयः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 147.

ON THE THIRTY-SIX VARIETIES OF
VYABHICĀRIBHĀVAS :

निर्वेदो ग्लानिराशङ्का तथासूया मदः श्रमः ।
 आलस्यमथ दैन्यं च चिन्ता मोहः स्मृतिर्मतिः ॥
 ब्रीडा चपलतामर्ष आवेगो जडता धृतिः ।
 गर्वो विषाद औत्सुक्यं निद्रापस्मार एव च ॥
 त्रासो हर्षः प्रबोधश्च अवहित्यं तथोग्रता ।
 वितर्को व्याधिरुन्मादो मरणं शौचमेव च ॥
 त्रयस्त्रिंशदिमे भावा विज्ञेया व्यभिचारिणः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 150.

ON THE ANUBHĀVAS IN ŚṚNGĀRĀBHINAYA :

तस्य लोचनचातुर्यभ्रूक्षेपस्मितविभ्रमाः ।
 चित्राङ्गहारवाद्यादिरनुभावगणः स्मृतः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 151.

ON BĪBHATSĀBHINAYA :

नासाप्रच्छादनाव्यक्तपादपाताक्षिकूणनैः ।
 हृल्लेखोद्वेजनाद्यैश्च तज्ज्ञैरभिनयः स्मृतः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 151.

ON LĪLĀ

प्रियवाग्भिरलङ्कारैर्मधुरैः प्रीतियोजितैः ।
 प्रियस्यानुकृतिः स्त्रीणां लीला स्यात्तु यथोच्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 160.

MISCELLANEOUS :

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ॥

Adyar Manuscript of the
Abhinavabhārati Vol. IV, p. 944.

PLANETARY MOTIONS IN HINDU ASTRONOMY

BY

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CALCUTTA.

The earliest notion about planetary motions was that the sun and the planets, with the stars, were carried diurnally westward by a mighty wind or aether, called *Pravāha*, which was moving continuously in a kind of whirling vortex. "It was supposed that the apparent eastward motion of the planets in their orbits was brought about by an overpowering influence of the stars, causing them to hang back, and that the irregular motions were produced by invisible deities at the apogees and the nodes of the different orbits, those at the apogees attracting them unequally by means of reins of winds, thus guiding them in their course, whilst the others, situated at the nodes, deflected to the north or south of the Ecliptic."

The notion that the planets were carried by an aether whirled about the sun was one also prevalent in Europe before the times of Kepler and Newton. Even Descartes and Leibnitz and a crowd of followers bestowed much labour and extensive learning in proving the system of vortices to be a necessity.¹

The Hindu astronomers in their earliest attempt to explain the planetary motions supposed a uniform motion in a circle about the earth but that, they found, did not really represent the true motion of a planet in its orbit, although the hypothesis served sufficiently to determine the mean motion and mean place of a planet when deduced from observations carried on for lengthened periods. They knew that every planet in its course was subject to great irregularities, the motion undergoing continual changes. At one time it would be direct towards the east, until the planet reached a stationary point, where it would seem to be at rest; then a retrograde motion would begin, and continue for a time, till another stationary position was reached, and the eastward motion would be repeated. It was to account for these irregularities that the epicycle was invented.

This contrivance was ascribed by the Greeks to Appollonius. He conceived that a planet in its course described, with uniform

1. *Vide* Brennand's *Hindu Astronomy*, page 84.

motion, the circumference of a circle, called the deferent, the centre of which was the centre of the earth. It was also supposed that, whilst the centre of the epicycle was moving eastward in the direction of the signs, the planet itself was moving in a direction contrary to that of the signs. By this hypothesis it was easy to show the various changes in the motions of the planets. This theory was generally adopted by western nations, with the addition of other epicycles, introduced by Ptolemy, as necessary for expressing the apparent motions with accuracy.

Āryabhaṭa was the first Hindu astronomer who had correct notions of the planetary motions and made corrections in the system received by him from earlier sources, specially that of Parāśara. Lalla followed his method. He ascribed to the epicycles, by which the motion of a planet is represented, a form varying from the circle and nearly ecliptic. The method followed in the old Sūrya Siddhānta included in the Pañca-siddhāntikā of Varāhamihira is different from that followed in the Āryabhaṭīya. The same method in its main principle is found in the present text of Sūrya Siddhānta. Brahmagupta's Khaṇḍakhādya, though known to have followed the Āryabhaṭīyam, exactly follows the old Sūrya Siddhānta in its methods of epicycles. It is strange why Brahmagupta has not followed the method of the Āryabhaṭa regarding the dimensions and elements of epicycles though he himself says that he has followed a work of Āryabhaṭa in writing Khaṇḍakhādya. It is hence probable that this Āryabhaṭa whom Brahmagupta is supposed to have followed is a person entirely different from the famous Āryabhaṭa and is a third Āryabhaṭa of that name.

The Hindus had two methods for calculating the true place of a planet from its mean place, as determined by the rules of the Sūrya Siddhānta. One of these methods resembles that of Appollonius, with this difference, that whilst the planet moved uniformly in its epicycle, whose centre moved in the deferent concentric with the earth, the epicycle itself was conceived to be variable, the circumference being greatest when the planet was in the Apsis (at apogee or perigee; the true and mean places being then coincident), and least when the planet was at a distance of 90° from those points. The other method supposes that, whilst the mean place of a planet is a point moving uniformly eastward, round the circumference of a circle whose centre is the earth, the planet also moves uniformly eastward, in

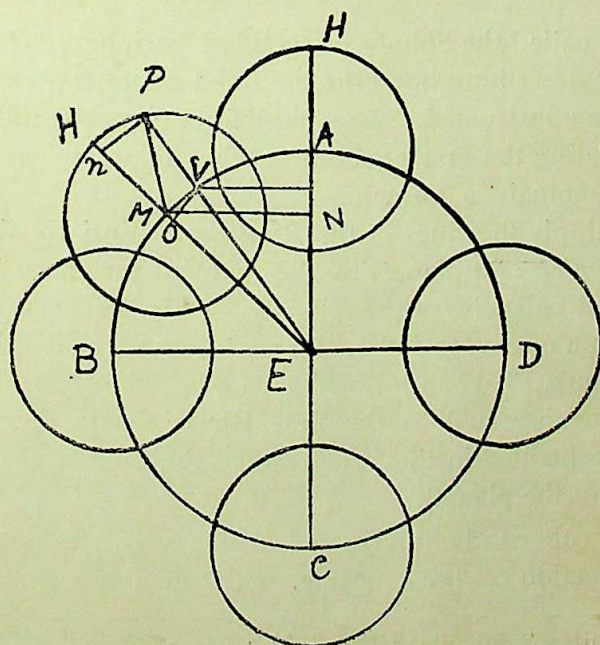
the same time, round the circumference of an equal, but eccentric circle, whose centre is situated in the line joining the Apogee with the centre of the earth, the distance from it being the eccentricity.

The motion of a planet is of eight kinds, *i.e.*,

1. Vakra (decreasing retrograde motion),
2. Ati-vakra (increasing retrograde motion),
3. Vikala (stationary),
4. Manda (increasing direct motion less than the mean motion),
5. Mandatara (decreasing direct motion less than the mean motion),
6. Sama (mean motion),
7. Śighratara or Ati-śighra (increasing direct motion greater than the mean motion), and
8. Śighra (decreasing direct motion greater than the mean motion).

Of these kinds, the five motions Ati-śighra, Śighra, Manda, Mandatara and Sama are direct and the two motions Vakra and Ati-vakra are retrograde.

In order to find the true place of a planet, its mean place and that of its apogee are first computed, the difference between them (called the *kendra* or mean anomaly) is taken and its sine is found; these are used for constructing the various epicycles.



Suppose a circle A B C D represents the deferent of a planet, in the plane of the orbit, the radius being 3438, the centre E representing the centre of the earth, and the line A E C the line of apsides. Let a small circle at A cutting the line of apsides at H represent the epicycle of a planet, the point H of the circumference being at the greatest distance from E will be the apogee or higher apsis. If we now conceive, that while the centre of the epicycle (starting from A and supposed to be moving in the circumference of the deferent in the direction A B C D, *i.e.*, in the order of the signs of the Zodiac) completes one revolution in the deferent; the planet starting from H and moving in the epicycle also completes one revolution in the same time, in a contrary direction of the signs. Then, it is assumed as a first approximation, that the direction in which the planet would appear to be seen at any time, when viewed from E, would be the direction of its true place. The conception here formed is that of an ordinary epicycle of an invariable magnitude. But the Hindu epicycle has its circumference continually varying, being greatest when the centre is at A or C, and least when the centre is at B or D.

Suppose C_A and C_B are the the circumferences of the epicycle for any of the planets at A and B respectively, then, for any intermediate point, M, with anomaly K the circumference of the epicycle would be $= C_A - (C_A - C_B) \frac{\sin K}{3438} = C_M$, such a circumference is called the Sphuṭa or rectified periphery.¹

After describing how the rectified periphery of a planet's epicycle is constructed, Sūrya Siddhānta gives the following rule for calculating the first equation of the planet, when the *kendra* or mean anomaly is known :—

“Multiply the sines of the Bhuja and Koṭi (of the first and second *kendra* of a planet) by the rectified periphery (of the first and second epicycle of the planet); divide the products by the degrees in a circle (or 360°) (the quotients are called the first and second Bhuja Phala and Koṭi-Phala respectively). Find the arc whose sine is equal to the first Bhuja phala; the number of minutes contained in this arc is called the Manda phala (the first equation of the planet).”

This rule can be interpreted in this way. Suppose H to be the intersection of the epicycle, with the line of apsides E A,

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verse 38.

the higher apsis or apogee. Then a planet supposed to start from H, in the epicycle, with a uniform motion, and to describe the circumference of the epicycle, in the same time as its centre, starting from A, and moving uniformly in the concentric, completes its revolution in that circle. When the centre has moved over an arc AM of the concentric, in the direction of the signs of the Zodiac, the planet P will have moved over an arc HP of the epicycle, such that, AM and HP will be similar arcs; therefore the angle MEA will be equal to the angle HMP, so that PM will always be parallel to AE.

If now, PE be joined, cutting the concentric in the point V, then the direction in which the planet would be seen, when viewed from E, the centre of the earth, would be that of the line EV, and the apparent place of the planet in the concentric would be V. Consequently, V is called the true place, and MV, the distance between the mean and the true places is the arc required in finding the true place. Now Pn, the perpendicular from P upon EM, is the sine of the Manda-phala or first equation. In the similar $\triangle s$ PnM and MNE, $\frac{Pn}{PM} = \frac{MN}{ME}$ or $Pn = \frac{PM}{ME} \cdot MN$; but $\frac{PM}{ME} = \frac{\text{circumference of epicycle at M}}{\text{circumference of concentric}}$, and $MN = \text{sine of arc MA} = \text{sine K}$.

$$\therefore Pn = \frac{C_M}{360^\circ \times 60} \cdot \text{sine K} = \frac{C_M}{21600} \cdot \text{Sin K}.$$

$$\text{Also } \frac{Mn}{MP} = \frac{NE}{ME} \text{ or } Mn = \frac{MP}{ME} \cdot NE.$$

$$\text{But } ME = \text{cosine of arc AM} \therefore Mn = \frac{C_M}{21600} \cdot \cos K$$

Now MN is the Bhuja and Pn is the Bhuja-phala and NE the Koṭi and Mn the Koṭi-phala

$$\text{Bhuja-phala} = \frac{\text{rectified periphery at M}}{360^\circ} \times \text{Bhuja and}$$

$$\text{Koṭi-phala} = \frac{\text{rectified periphery at M}}{360^\circ} \times \text{Koṭi}.$$

The arc of which Bhuja-phala is the sine is the Manda-phala, or first equation of the centre. This would be correct, if PE had been the radius. The corrections to be applied are given in the following rules¹ :—

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verses 40, 41 and 42.

"To find the second equation of the minor planets—Mars, etc. Find the second Koṭi-phala (from a planet's second kendra). It is to be added to the radius, when the Kendra is less than three signs or greater than nine signs; but when the Kendra is greater than three signs and less than nine, then the second Koṭi-phala is to be subtracted from the radius."

"Add the square of the result (just found) to that of the sine of the second Bhuja-phala; the square of the sum is the śīghra-karṇa, or second hypotenuse. Find the second Bhuja-phala of the planet; multiply it by the radius, and divide the product by the second hypotenuse.

"Find the arc whose sine is equal to the quotient (just found); the number of minutes contained in the arc is called the Śīghra-phala (or second equation of the planet)."

Now $P_n = \frac{C_M}{21600} \cdot \sin K = \text{Bhuja-phala}$, in which K may be the first or second Kendra, and according to the position of M , $\sin K$ may make M_n vary in sign.

$$\therefore E_n = E M \pm M_n; \text{ but } P E^2 = P_n^2 + E_n^2.$$

$$\text{or } \text{Śīghra-karṇa} = P E = \sqrt{P_n^2 + (E M \pm M_n)^2}$$

$$= \sqrt{\left\{ \left(\frac{C_M \sin K^2}{21600} + (3438 \pm \frac{C_M \cos K^2}{21600}) \right) \right\}}$$

$$\text{Again in } \triangle s P_n E, V_o E, \frac{V_o}{P_n} = \frac{V E}{P E} \text{ or } V_o = \frac{V E \cdot P_n}{P E}$$

$$\sin oV = \therefore 3438 \times \frac{C_M \cdot \sin K}{21600}$$

$$\sqrt{\left\{ \left(\frac{C_M \sin K^2}{21600} + \right) \left(3438 \pm \frac{C_M \cos K^2}{21.00} \right) \right\}}$$

$$i. e. \text{ sine } \text{Śīghra-phala} = \frac{\text{Radius} \times \text{Bhuja-phala}}{\text{Karṇa}} \text{ where Karṇa} = \sqrt{[(\text{Radius} \pm \text{Koṭi-phala})^2 + (\text{Bhuja-phala})^2]}.$$

Then the method of approximation is used to find the true place of a planet. "Find the equation (from the mean place of a planet), apply the half of it to the mean place, and to the result apply the half of the first equation (found from that result), from the amount find the first equation again, and apply the whole of it to the mean place of the planet, and to the rectified mean place of the planet, apply the whole of the second equation found from the rectified mean place, thus the true place of a planet is found."

When the mean place is in advance of the true place, the equation is to be subtracted, but when the true place is in advance of the mean place, the equation is to be added, and at the higher and lower apsides the two places will coincide.

Bhāskara, however, gives a very brief account of the method of epicycle. He says :—

“Taking the mean place of the planet in the concentric as the centre, with a radius equal to the eccentricity of the planet, draw a circle. This is called Nicoccavṛtta or epicycle. Then draw a line from the centre of the earth passing through the mean place of the planet [to the circumference of the epicycle]. That place in the epicycle most distant from the centre of the Earth, cut by the line [joining the centre of the Earth and mean place of the planet] is supposed to be the place of the higher apsis; and the point in the epicycle nearest to the Earth's centre, the lower apsis. In the epicycle draw a transverse line passing through the centre of it [and at right angles to the above mentioned line which is called here Ucca-rekhā]. As the mean planet revolves with its Kendra-gati (the motion from its higher apsis) in the first and second epicycles marked with the 12 signs and 60 degrees towards the reverse signs, and according to the order of the signs respectively from its higher apsis. Mark off, therefore, the places of the first and second Kendras or distances from their respective higher apsides in the manner directed above; the planet must be fixed at those points. Here also the perpendicular line from the planet to the Ucca-rekhā is the sine of the Bhuja of the kendra; and that from the planet on the transverse line is the cosine. The Bhuja-phala and Koṭi-phala are the sine and cosine in the epicycle. The Bhuja-phala is the Bhuja (the base) and the Kārṇa (hypotenuse) to complete the rightangled triangle) is the line intercepted. The equation of the centre is here the arc of the concentric intercepted between the mean place of the planet and the point cut by the hypotenuse. The equation thus found is to be added or subtracted as was before explained.¹

Bhāskara, however, gives preference to the method of the eccentric which he describes at a considerable length and where he makes the circle invariable in magnitude. Bhāskara maintains that the Earth is in the centre of the universe, and the sun, the moon

1. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Bāpudev Śāstri's edition, Goḷādhyaṃ, Chap. V, verses 24—29.

and the five minor planets, Mars, Mercury, etc., revolve round the earth in circular orbits, the centres of which do not coincide with that of the earth, with uniform motion. The circle in which a planet revolves is called *Prativṛtta*, or eccentric circle, and a circle of the same size which is supposed to have the same centre as that of the earth, is called *Kakṣāvṛtta* or concentric circle. In the circle, the planet appears to revolve with unequal motion, though it revolves in the eccentric with equal motion. The place where the planet revolving in the eccentric appears in the concentric is its true place and to find this, a correction called *Manda-phala* (1st equation of the centre) is applied to the mean place of the planet. A mean planet thus corrected is called *Manda-Spaṣṭa*, the circle in which it revolves is called *Manda-Prativṛtta* (1st eccentric) and its farthest point from the centre of the concentric, *Mandocca* (1st higher apsis). As the mean places of the sun and the moon when corrected by 1st equation become true at the centre of the Earth, this correction alone is sufficient for them. But the five minor planets, Mars, Mercury, etc., when corrected by the 1st equation are not true at the centre of the Earth but at another place. For this reason, astronomers have assumed the concentric circle as second eccentric of these five planets, they take another circle of the same size and of the same centre with the earth as concentric, and in order to find the place where the planet revolving in the second eccentric appears, in this concentric, they apply a correction called *Śighra-phala* or second equation of the centre, to the mean place corrected by the 1st equation. The *Manda-Spaṣṭa* planet, when corrected by the second equation is called *Spaṣṭa* or true planet, the second eccentric is called *Śighra-Prativṛtta*, and its farther point from the centre of the Earth is called *Śighrocca*, the 2nd higher apsis.¹

Bhāskara says, "As the centre of the circle of the constellation of the Zodiac coincides with the centre of the Earth, and the centre of the circle in which the planet revolves does not coincide with the centre of the Earth, the observer, therefore, on the Earth does not find the planet in its mean place on the Zodiac. Hence the correction called *Bhuja-phala* (equa-

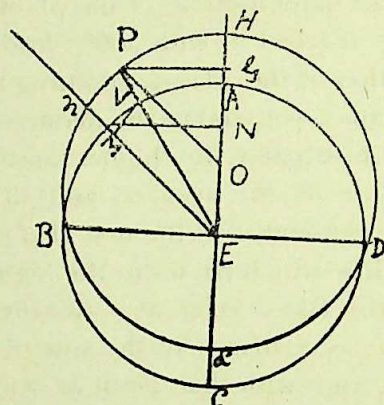
1. *Vide* the foot-note by Paṇḍit Bāpudev Śāstrī under verse 7. *Goḷādhyāya* Chap. V, *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, edited by Wilkinson and B. D. Śāstrī.

tion of centre) is applied to the mean place of the planet to get the true place."

Then Bhāskara proceeds to give a construction of a diagram to illustrate the eccentric theory. "In the first place, describe a circle with the compass opened to the length of the radius (3438). This called the *Kakṣāvṛtta*, or concentric circle; at the centre of the circle draw a small sphere of the Earth with a radius equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the mean daily motion¹ of the planet. In this concentric circle, having marked it with 360° , find the place of the higher apsis and that of the planet, counting from the first point of Aries; then draw a perpendicular diameter passing through the centre of the Earth and the higher apsis (which is called *Ucca-rekhā*; the line of the apsides) and draw another transverse diameter perpendicular to the first also passing through the centre. On this line which passes to the highest apsis from the centre of the Earth, take a point at a distance from the Earth's centre equal to the eccentricity or the sine of the greatest equation of the centre, and with that point as centre and the radius equal to the radius of the concentric, draw the *Prativṛtta* or eccentric circle. The *Ucca-rekhā* answers the like purpose also in this circle, but makes the transverse diameter different in it. Where the *Ucca-rekhā*, perpendicular diameter, (when produced) cuts the eccentric circle, that is the place of the higher apsis in it also. From this, mark the first steller Aries, at the distance in degree of the highest apsis; the place of the planet must be then fixed counting the degree from the mark of the 1st Aries in the usual order. The distance between the higher apsis and the planet is called the *kendra*. The right line let fall from the planet on the *Ucca-rekhā* is the sine of *Bhuja* of the *Kendra*. The right line falling from the planet on the transverse diameter is the cosine of the *Kendra*, it is upright and the sine of *Bhuja* is a transverse line. Therefore the sum or difference of the cosine and eccentricity (respectively) is here the *Sphuṭa-koṭi* (*i. e.* the upright side of a right angled triangle from the place of the planet in the eccentric to the transverse diameter in the eccentric), the sine of the *Bhuja* (of the *kendra*) is the *Bhuja* (the base) and the square root of the sum of the squares of the *Sphuṭa-koṭi* and *Bhuja* is called *Karṇa*, hypotenuse. This hypotenuse is the distance between the Earth's centre and the

1. Hindu astronomers take the horizontal parallax = $\frac{1}{16}$ of the daily motion.

planet's place in the eccentric circle. The planet will be observed in that point of the concentric cut by the hypotenuse. The equation of the centre is the distance between the mean and apparent places of the planet; when the mean place is more advanced than the apparent place, then the equation thus found is subtractive; when it is behind the true place, the equation is additive."¹



The foregoing rules can be explained in this way. Suppose A B C D and H P L to be two circles having their radii each equal to 3438¹, the number of minutes in the radius, and their centres E and O at a distance from each other equal to the number of minutes in the greatest equation of the centre of a planet's orbit. If E represents the centre of the earth, then the circle A B C D is called the concentric and H P L whose centre is O is called the eccentric. The line joining O E, and produced is the line of apsides. The point H, where it meets the eccentric is the higher apsis, and L the lower. Now suppose the planet moving in the eccentric describes the arc H P, in the same time that an imaginary planet moving in the concentric with the same mean motion, describes the arc A M, then the arcs A M and H P being equal, the radii, M E and P O are parallel, and the lines M P and E O joining equal and parallel lines are themselves equal and parallel; therefore, P M, the line joining the true and imaginary planet is always equal and parallel to the eccentricity E O. Now the line E P joining the centre of the Earth with the planet, is the direction in which the planet will be seen from E, and V the point in which it meets the concentric is called the true place of the planet; the distance M V between the mean and

1. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi—B. D. Śāstri's edition, Goḷādhyāya, Chap. V, verses 10—17.

true places is the equation of centre. The arc M A is the kendra or mean anomaly = K and M N drawn from M perpendicular to H E = sin M A = sin K¹, N E is the cosine of M A = Cos K. In Δ s

$$M P n \text{ and } P E G, \frac{Mn}{MP} = \frac{PG}{PE} \text{ or } Mn = \frac{MP \cdot PG}{PE} = \frac{e \sin K}{PE}$$

$$\text{Also } PE = \sqrt{PG^2 + EG^2} = \sqrt{\sin^2 K + (\cos K \pm e)^2}$$

$$\therefore (\text{Sin equation of centre}) = Mn = \frac{e \sin K}{\sqrt{\sin^2 K + (\cos K + e)^2}},$$

Sin K is here the line M N or its equal P G of the figure. It is sometimes called the "sine of the Bhuja of the Kendra", at other times it is called the "Bhuja of the Kendra", and again more briefly "the Bhuja"; cos K which is the line N E or its equal G O is sometimes called the "Koṭi", at other times "the sine of the Koṭi", and more at length "the sine of the Bhuja of the complement of the Kendra," the line P E is the Karṇa or hypotenuse, and we have Karṇa² = Bhuja² + Sphuṭa Koṭi². In the case of the Epicycle, the sine becomes Bhuja-phala and the cosine is Koṭi-phala.

Bhāskara then explains the motion in Double Eccentrics in the following verse:—"The mean planet moves in its Manda-Prativṛtta (first eccentric); the Manda Spāṣṭa planet (*i. e.* whose mean place is rectified by the first equation) moves in its Śighra-Prativṛtta (second eccentric). The Manda-Spāṣṭa is, therefore, here assumed as the mean planet in the second process (*i. e.* in finding the second equation)."

For this reason, having assumed the Manda Spāṣṭa planet for the mean, which Manda-Spāṣṭa can be determined in the concentric by describing the eccentric circle etc., through the mean planet and Mandocca, we are to mark the place of the stellar Aries from the Manda-Spāṣṭa place in the reverse order of the signs and then determine the place of the Śighrocca in the order of the signs. Through the places of the stellar Aries and Śighrocca we are to describe the 2nd eccentric circle etc., in the way mentioned above and then to find the place of the true planet in the eccentric.¹

1. Sin K of Hindu astronomy is the same as R. sin K of modern astronomy.

2. Vide notes by Paṇḍit Bapudev Śāstrī under verse 18, chap. V Golādhya, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, edited by himself and Wilkinson.

Bhāskara then proceeds to compare the motions in the epicycles and eccentrics, by constructing the mixed diagrams of the eccentric and epicycle. He says "The planet appears to move forward from Mandocca or 1st higher apsis, in the eccentric circle with its Kendra-gati (the motion from its Mandocca) and in the order of the signs and to the East; from its Śighrocca, 2nd higher apsis, it moves in antecedentia or reversely, as it is thrown backwards. When the epicycle, however, is used, the reverse of this takes place, the planet moving in antecedentia from its 1st higher apsis and in the order of the signs from its 2nd higher apsis. Now as the actual motion in both cases is the same, while the appearances are thus diametrically opposed, it must be admitted, therefore, that these expedients are the mere inventions of wise astronomers to ascertain the amount of equation."

These two methods of calculation, whether by assuming the motions as being in an eccentric or in epicycle, lead to the same results exactly. But it is seen that, whereas the planet on the former hypothesis is conceived to move in the direction of the signs, on the latter hypothesis the apparent motion of the planet in the Epicycle would be in a contrary direction. It is thus indicated by Bhāskara, "If the diagrams (of the eccentric and epicycle) be drawn unitedly, and the place of the planet be marked off, in the manner before explained, then the planet will necessarily be in the point of intersection of the eccentric and the epicycle."

"If the figure for the eccentric and concentric be first drawn, then the planet moving in the eccentric, and starting from H, the higher apsis, is supposed to have described the arc H P in the direction of the signs, and the line P M drawn parallel to H E, will meet the concentric in the point M, the place of the imaginary mean planet supposed to be moving in that circle, and P M is equal to E O, the eccentricity. If now with M, as a centre, and a radius equal to the eccentricity, a circle be described, this circle will be the epicycle, in which a planet moves through the arc H P from the higher apsis H, in the same time its centre will have described the arc A M of the concentric, and the radius being equal to the eccentricity, it is equal to H P, or the epicycle and the eccentric intersect in the same points and all the other lines and angles of the figures, according to one method are identical with those of the other method. It is always obvious that in

the eccentric the planet will move on the arc HP of the eccentric in the direction of the signs of the Zodiac; but in the epicycle, the arc H P of that circle is in a direction opposite to the signs."¹

There is, however, some difference in the methods used by the Sūrya-Siddhānta and Śiromaṇi. The chief difference lies in the definition of Kendra. In Bhāskara's work (1) the Kendra in Siddhānta Manda Epicycle = longitude of the mean planet—the longitude of the Ucca;—(2) the Kendra in Śīghra Epicycle = longitude of Ucca longitude of the mean planet. But in the Sūrya Siddhānta Kendra = longitude of the Ucca—longitude of the mean planet in both Manda and Śīghra operations. Again Bhāskara directs that the Kendra should be given in the Manda and Śīghra epicycles in opposite directions (*i. e.* with the motion of the mean planet in the Śīghra and against it in the Manda). But the Sūrya Siddhānta gives only one rule (*i. e.* it is to be in the direction of motion of the mean planet)². Again to ascertain where the equation is positive or negative, the Sūrya Siddhānta gives one comprehensive rule, *viz.*, "the equation is positive when the Kendra is within six signs (180^0) and negative when the Kendra, is between six and twelve signs (180^0 to 360^0) in both the Śīghra and the Manda operations."³ Where as Bhāskara gives two distinct rules, *viz.*, "in the Manda operation when the Kendra lies between 6 and 12 signs, the equation is positive, and when the Kendra lies within six signs, the equation is negative; the reverse is the rule in the Śīghra operation."⁴

Hence we can conclude by saying that the Hindu methods of calculating the mean motions by means of epicycles and eccentrics are purely original inventions and are in no way influenced by the Greek methods.⁵

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1. Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, page 227.
 2. *Vide* an article by Prof. P. C. Sengupta on Planetary Motion, page 34.
 3. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. II, verse 45.
 4. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. Grahaganita, Chap. VIII, verse 18.
 5. Mr. G. R. Kaye is wrong in assuming Greek influence in an article published in J. A. S. B. No. XV, 1919.

SOME MISTRANSLATED ŚLOKAS OF THE DAŚARŪPA

BY

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It is far better, it always seemed to me, to save our ancient texts from misinterpretation than to build theory after theory about their authors and date which in many cases—to use Max Muller's words—collapses at the first breath of criticism or scepticism. I do not know whether attention has been fully drawn to the fact that many are the works that have suffered much at the hands of scholars whose study of Sanskrit was only very limited and superficial. I propose here to give a few instances from Haas' translation of the Daśarūpa.

1. The following is the 2nd śloka of the 1st pariccheda :

daśarūpānukāreṇa yasya mādyanti bhāvakāḥ
namaḥ sarvavide tasmai Viṣṇave Bharatāya ca.

and its translation is :—

“Homage to that omniscient Viṣṇu whose senses revel in the semblance of his ten forms [of incarnation], and to Bharata, whose poetic sensibilities revel in the imitation of the ten forms [of drama] (*daśarūpa*).”

Here we see that the translator takes the word *bhāvaka* to mean ‘senses’ and ‘sensibilities’, whereas it really means ‘mediators’ and ‘men of taste.’ For senses and sensibilities we should have ‘*bhāvanā*’; not *bhāvaka*. And the translator thinks that *yasya* goes with *bhāvaka*. But it is not so. It should be taken with *daśarūpānukāreṇa*. Perhaps this misunderstanding of his was due to the fact that, in his explanation of the above śloka, Dhanika places the word *yasya* after the explanation of *daśarūpānukāreṇa* and before the word *bhāvaka*:

daśarūpānukāreṇeti : ekaṭra matsya-kūrmādi-pratimānām
uddeśena anyatra anukṛti-rūpa-nāṭakādinā yasya
bhāvakāḥ dhyātāraḥ rasikāśca, mādyanti-hṛṣyanti.

Though here *yasya* precedes *bhāvaka*, it should not be so construed. This will be apparent when we note the impropriety of the sense that we have—whose (Bharata's) men of taste. Men

of taste cannot be Bharata's. But the daśarūpa (ten kinds of drama) may well be said as Bharata's on account of their being defined and elaborately treated by him in his Nāṭya Śāstra. So the correct translation of the śloka should be as follows :—

Viṣṇu by whose assumption
 'Homage to that.....and.....
 Bharata by staging of whose
 of ten forms, *matsya*, *kūrma* etc. mediators
 ten kinds of drama men of taste—become highly
 pleased.'

2. Kasya cid eva kadā cid dayayā viṣayam Sarasvatī viduṣaḥ
ghaṭayati kam api tam anyo vrajati jano yena vaidagdhīm.
is the next śloka, which Haas translates into :—

‘Sarasvatī through her favour furnishes to any intelligent man at any time that subject, whatever it be (*kam api*), by which somebody else becomes cultured.’

and he adds his notes :—

“The sense is : The goddess Sarasvatī freely provides themes for literary works to persons of intelligence, and through these works culture is diffused among others.”

We can hardly meet with a more perverse translation of a Sanskrit text. The author of the Daśarūpa means to say in this śloka that it is only on a rare occasion and on a rare man that Sarasvatī bestows her blessings, furnishing the man with a theme by which others become highly cultured. This the author says in order to make it known to us that such a treatise as the Daśarūpa is not an ordinary production in the literary world, but very rare, wherefore we should not miss it. This is meant by Dhanika's introductory words.

śrotuḥ pravṛtti-nimittam pradarśyate—

One wonders that *kasya cid eva*, *kadā cid eva*, and *kam api* should mean to the translator, 'any intelligent man', 'at any time', and 'whatever it be.'

3. The following is the 122nd section of the 1st pariccheda in the translation of the Daśarūpa:

nāṭyadharmām(n) apeksyaitat punar vastu tridheṣyate.
'This subject-matter [just mentioned] is further declared to be
of three kinds, with regard to the dramatic rules (*nāṭyadharmā*)'.

Notes.—This section serves as an introduction to sections 123-128. Contrary to the usual practice of our author, the three kinds are not specially named and enumerated before they are taken up individually in sections 123-124, 125-127, and 128.

The mistake in these notes will be at once seen if we read the second half of the śloka :

sarveṣāṃ niyatasyaiva śrāvyam aśrāvyam eva ca.

which means :—

1. That which may be heard by all (*sarva-śrāvyā*) ;
2. That which is to be heard by a particular person (*niyata-śrāvyā*) ;
3. That which is not to be heard by any body (*aśrāvyā*).

Haas translates into :

‘Of the matter in hand (*niyatasyaiva?*) some is to be heard by all, some is not to be heard by all.’

Of the above mentioned three kinds, the first and last is spoken of in the first half of the next śloka (section 124), while the second (*niyata-śrāvyā*) is sub-divided in the latter half (section 125). The whole of the next śloka (section 126) defines the first sub-division (*janāntam*); and then there is only a single line (section 127), which defines the second sub-division (*apavāritam*). Here is the end of the topic which was begun in nāṭyadharmān apekṣyaitat punar vastu tridheṣyate (Sec. 122).

The author Dhanañjaya explains in the next śloka (sec. 128) what is called *ākāśa-bhāṣita* which has no relation whatever with the previous topic. Dhanika’s explanatory words though sparingly used are all in these places very clear; and introducing this śloka he says:—

nāṭyadharma-prasaṅgād ākāśa-bhāṣitam āha—

So to say, as Haas has said in the above quoted notes in apparent contradiction to the commentary, ‘...they are taken up individually in sections 123-124, 125-127, and 128’ only testifies to a superficial study of the Daśarūpa.

LITERARY NOTES.

(Continued from the previous part)

II

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE TATTVASAMĀSA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.

LIBRARIAN, ADYAR LIBRARY.

Almost all writers on Indian Philosophy have unanimously held the Sāṅkhya work called Tattvasamāsa to be of comparatively recent origin (*i. e.*) later than Mādhavārya, the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, for that work has not been referred to in the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha. Prof. Das Gupta in his History of Indian Philosophy says, "Another short work of late origin is 'Tattvasamāsa' (probably 14th century)"¹ Dr. Keith in his Sāṅkhya System regards the work to be later than 1380, the time when the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha was composed.² Prof. Garbe in his Sāṅkhya Philosophy says that it should have been written after 1400 A. D.³

It was only Professor Max Muller that was prepared to assign a high antiquity to that work. According to him the Tattvasamāsa was one of the oldest and basic works of the Sāṅkhya System.

Curiously enough we find extracts from this Tattvasamāsa quoted in a work which belongs to the period of Mahendravarman, the famous Pallava King of Kāñcī, in the 7th century of the Christian Era. The work called Bhagavadajjukam attributed to one Bodhāyana Kavi is mentioned in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription of the Pallava King (*i. e.*) Mahendravarman. In volume IV of the South Indian Inscriptions, we find that inscription edited, but the editor reads मगवदज्जुकम् instead of Bhagavadajju-

1. History of Indian Philosophy Vol. I, p. 212.

2. Sāṅkhya System, p. 91.

3. Sāṅkhya Philosophy, p. 68—70.

kam. The word occurs along with others (*i.e.*) Mattavilāsa etc. One can easily see that there is a confusion between म and भ and the reading मगवदञ्जुकम् makes no sense. Recently certain epigraphists who have seen the inscription personally declare that it is only भ and not म. Consequently we find that the Bhagavadajjukam belongs to a period earlier than the 7th century A. D.

In the Bhagavadajjuka we find the following passage:—

शाण्डिल्यः—^१भवं ! किं न जानासि पुढं अहं पादरसनलोहेण सक्किअसमणअं पव्वजिदो हि ।

परिव्राजकः—अस्ति किञ्चिदपि ज्ञातम् ?

शाण्डिल्यः—^२अत्थि, अत्थि, पढ्दं वि अत्थि ।

परिव्राजकः—भवतु । श्रोष्यामस्तावत् ।

शाण्डिल्यः—^३सुणादु भवो । “अष्टौ प्रकृतयः, षोडश विकाराः, आत्मा, पञ्चावयवः, त्रैगुण्यम्, मनः, सञ्चरः, प्रतिसञ्चारश्च” इति । एवं हि भवदा जिणेण पिडअपुत्तएसु उक्तम् ।

परिव्राजकः—शाण्डिल्य ! साङ्ख्यसमय एषः, न शाक्यसमयः ।

Pages 14—15 of Prābhākara Śāstrin's
Edition of the Bhagavadajjuka.

The Tattvasamāsa-sūtras being very small in number, I shall give here the whole text of the Tattvasamāsa, to facilitate quick and easy reference. They are :—

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. अष्टौ प्रकृतयः | 9. पञ्च वह्नयः |
| 2. षोडश विकाराः | 10. पञ्च कर्मयोनयः |
| 3. पुरुषः | 11. पञ्चावयवः |
| 4. त्रैगुण्यम् | 12. पञ्च कर्मात्मानः |
| 5. सञ्चरः | 13. पञ्चपर्वाविद्या |
| 6. अध्यात्मम् | 14. अष्टाचत्वारिंशतिधा शक्तिः |
| 7. अधिभूतम् | 15. नवधा तुष्टिः |
| 8. अधिदैवतम् | 16. अष्टधा शक्तिः |

1. The chāyā is as follows:

१. भगवन् ! किं न जानसि प्रथमं अहं प्रातरशनलोभेन शाक्यश्रमणकं प्रव्रजितोऽस्मि ।
२. अस्ति, अस्ति, प्रभूतमप्यस्ति ।
३. शृणोतु भवान् एवं हि भगवता जिनेन पिटकपुस्तकेषु उक्तम् ।

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 17. दश मूलिकार्थाः | 20. त्रिविधो बन्धः |
| 18. अर्थग्रहसर्गः | 21. त्रिविधो मोक्षः |
| 19. चतुर्दशविधो भूतसर्गः | 22. त्रिविधं प्रमाणम् |

We may now institute a comparison between the phrases printed in thick type in the speech of Sāṇḍilya taken from the Bhagavadajjuka and the Sūtras of Tattvasamāsa printed in thick type. One can easily see for oneself that the author of the Bhagavadajjuka quotes from this book alone. This is proof unmistakable to regard the Tattvasamāsa as older than the Bhagavadajjuka.

The text of the Tattvasamāsa sūtras given here is based upon two of the Adyar Library manuscripts of that work. This text varies from the printed text of the Tattvasamāsa to some extent but the difference is not much.¹ प्रतिसञ्चारः quoted in the Bhagavadajjukam finds a place in the printed text. मनः is omitted in both.

One word has to be said with regard to the Tattvasamāsa Sūtras. Probably there were more Sūtras than we have at present. This conjecture is rendered possible when we take into consideration the quotation from the Bhagavadajjuka. मनः found in the Bhagavadajjuka is missing in the text of the Tattvasamāsa. Manas forms an important category in the scheme of Padārthas recognised by the Sāṅkhyas and consequently there is no reason why it should be omitted in the text. The Sūtra पुरुषः is replaced by the word आत्मा in the Bhagavadajjuka, but it does not seriously affect the argument. We may therefore safely conclude that the Tattvasamāsa was longer than it is at present; there must have been one more Sūtra at least.

1. I quote here the sūtras of the Tattvasamāsa from the printed text so that the differences might be noted by scholars.

अधौ प्रकृतयः 2.

षोडशकस्तु विकारः 3.

पुरुषः 4.

त्रैगुण्यम् 5.

सञ्चारः प्रतिसञ्चारः 6.

पञ्चावयवः 10.

III

DATE OF THE SĀṆKHYA PRAVACANA SŪTRAS.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

The opinion current among orientalisists regarding the date of the so-called Sāṅkhya Pravacana Sūtras is that it should be considered to be later than the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha for the obvious reason that he fails to mention that work. Omission cannot and should not always be regarded as a negative argument. It has been mentioned in the previous note that the Tattvasamāsa though not referred to in the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, is still older. A similar statement may be made with regard to the Sāṅkhya Pravacana Sūtra also. If the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha does not refer to it, a contemporary and a near kinsman of his refers to the Sūtras and quotes one of those Sūtras. Mādhavamantrin, the famous commentator on the Sūtasāṁhitā quotes the following Sūtra in his commentary on the Sūtasāṁhitā.

अत एव साङ्ख्यैरुच्यते

“सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणानां साम्यावस्था मूलप्रकृतिः” इति ।

P. 407 of the Sūtasāṁhitā. Madras Edition.

Now this Sūtra occurs as the 61st Sūtra in the first adhyāya of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras which we have at present.

Mādhavamantrin, pupil of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, the general of the first dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings, should not be confounded with Mādhavācārya, alias Vidyāraṇya, the famous commentator on the Vedas; he should be held distinct from Mādhavārya also, the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha. Mādhavārya is the later of the three in point of time.

Mādhavamantrin, Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavārya belong to the same period and they were contemporaries.¹ Consequently there is no reason to regard the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, now available, to be later than the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha.

1. Vide “Sources of Vijayanagara History” p. 51.

THE SANGHAM LITERATURE.

By

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In the course of a comparative study of the Tamil Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram with the Sanskrit Kāvyaḍarśa, which I made early last year (soon after the publication of the Tamil Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram, second edition, by the late Cennākam Pandit Kumaraswami Pulavar) I came across the following passage in the Kāvyaḍarśa,

मुक्तं कुलकं कोशस्सङ्घात इति तादृशः ॥

and the commentary of Taruṇa Vācaspati thereon (which Rao Bahadur M. Raṅgachārya refers to as A in his edition) remarks

कोशः, नानाकर्तृकसुभाषितरत्नसमुदायः ।

सङ्घातः, एकार्थविषयः एककर्तृकः पद्यसङ्घातः, शरत्सङ्घातद्रमिडसङ्घा-
तादिवत् ॥

The point that, I thought, is worth further investigation is this reference to Dramiḍa Saṅghāta.

The author of the Kāvyaḍarśa is reputed to have been a native of Conjeevaram and apparently he was well acquainted with the Dramiḍa works of note; and the commentator who seems to have clear notions of what Daṇḍin had in mind when he mentioned Saṅghāta refers to Dramiḍa Saṅghāta as a famous example of a Saṅghāta.

The Tamil Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram, the Sūtras of which at least are of great antiquity (two of which are quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār) refers in the Sūtra portion to this Saṅghāta as Tokai (தொகை). It is interesting to note that this classification सङ्घात is not found in later writers on Alaṅkāra either in Sanskrit or Tamil. Now, let me extract the relevant passage from the other commentary Hṛdayaṅgamā which is also published by Rao Bahadur M. Raṅgachārya.

एकस्मिन्नेव प्रयोजने प्रवृत्ता नानाविधाः श्लोका भवेयुश्चेत् तथाविधानां
समूहः सङ्घातः ॥

It is noteworthy that the 'eight collections' or எட்டுத் தொகை which form the so called Śaṅgam literature satisfy, each of them, the above definition.

Modern speculations about the chronology of the Ancient Tamil History are based on the conception of a Śaṅgam Age. There has been for centuries a tradition among Tamil poets and paṇḍits that there were three Tamil Śaṅgams at different ages of Tamil history.—The popular conception, at least so far as the third Śaṅgam is concerned, is that the forty-nine poets of that Śaṅgam or assembly were contemporaries who along with Lord Śiva sat at an assembly at Madura and formed an Academy to set their hallmark of approval on contemporary Tamil works.

The main source for these speculations is a passage in the commentary on Iraiyaṇār Aha Poruḷ. Critics have discussed the evidentiary value of this passage and considerably discounted it already¹. I am not going to discuss in this short note the question again. But I would like to point out the following :—

(1) that poets ascribed in that commentary to the first and second Śaṅgams are found included in the existing collections which are attributed to the third Śaṅgam.

(2) the period ascribed to these forty-nine poets in the commentary is 1850 years—during the rule of 49 Kings of Madura, three of whom were recognised poets கவியாங்கேறிஞர்.

Therefore even if we accept this tradition as regards the third Śaṅgam, it is to be remembered that the poems included in the eight *Tokais* or Anthologies belonged to a period of nearly two milleniums ending with Ugra Peru Vaḷuti. There is therefore no basis for imagining as is often done, that the forty-nine poets were contemporaries.²

Another noteworthy point about these eight Anthologies is that they were compiled at different times ; the names of the poet who prepared each anthology and the king under whose patronage it was prepared is found mentioned in the published editions of these works. And an investigation into their dates will help considerably in fixing the ages in which the different Śaṅgam poets lived. In the absence of such investigation, it is rash to conclude that the forty-nine poets were contemporaries of one another and lived, as some say, in the early centuries before or after the Christian Era or, as others think, in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian Era.

1. See " Tamil Varalāru " By K. S. Srinivasa Pillai.

2. The *Veṇbās* called *Tiruvalluvamālai* are obvious forgeries.

The error seems to have arisen because of the reference to a conference of learned men under the patronage of a Pāṇḍya king which resulted in the obtaining of Aha Poruḷ by the grace of God Śiva. Stories of Jain Saṅghas were similarly current and these probably led the paṇḍits, poets and commentators of the mediaeval ages to imagine the three Śaṅgams or assemblies, contrary to the earlier tradition recorded in the commentary to Iriyaṇār Aha Poruḷ. The error gained strength by the fact that convocations or assemblies of learned men for the determination of the merits of a poem or of a system of philosophy were common in those days. It is to one such convocation when the Lord Himself entered the debating hall and won in the debate and got the prize and gave it to one Dharumi that St. Appar refers in his Tēvāram. At a similar convocation St. Periyālvār is supposed to have established the Paṇṭava of Śrīmān Nārāyaṇa.¹

There are references to சங்க in the Divya Prabhandams and in other works. These references are clearly to the Dramaḍa Saṅghāta works.

It is possible that the Sanskrit word Saṅghāta was adopted in a curtailed form as Saṅgha or that Saṅgha was a Sanskrit variant for Saṅghāta. Apart from these, there are no early references to the Saṅgham works as works of contemporary poets and they are invariably referred to as the eight *Tokais* (i. e., Saṅghātams) or anthologies.

An emphasis on the *Saṅghāta* nature of these Tamil classics is necessary, in the interest of researches in Tamil chronology and the reference therefore by Taruṇa Vācaspati to Dramaḍa Saṅghāta was, I thought, of considerable value.

I may add that in a recent edition of the Āryā verses of one Sundara Pāṇḍya the editor refers to these Tamil classics as द्रमिडसङ्घ poems, and I would commend this way of referring to the Tamil classics as Saṅgha works.

1. See the தனியன்—சுண்டிய சங்கம் எடுத்தேத்த.

MĀMALLAPURAM¹ AT THE SANGAM AGE.

BY

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Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, the famous French historian, says in his *Pallava Antiquities* "Māmallai did not probably exist before the time of Pallava Narasihmavarman I and that it was this king that founded it, gave it the name of Māmallapuram after his own name of Māmalla and began the cutting of the *rathas* and caves therein." The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao also endorses the view on page 16 of his *History of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*. No scholar has, till now examined this theory closely.

But, from my investigations, I find that the town ought to have existed even at the sangam period. Kaṭiyālūr-Urut-tiraṇ-Kaṇṇaṇār, (கடியலூர்-உருத்திரங் கண்ணனார்) a poet of the Sangam Age describes in his *Perumpāṇāruppatai*, how a poet, who received presents from Toṇḍaimān-Iḷantiraiyan, the king of Kāñci, met on his way an another poet and advised him to go to the same king for bounty. In the course of the advice is described the flourishing condition of the country of Toṇḍaimān and the way leading to Kāñci is given in full detail. The place described just before Kāñci is seen from the following lines :—

“நீர்ப்பேயற் றெல்லைப் போகிப் பாற்கேழ்

வாலுளைப் புரவியொடு வடவளந் தஞ்சம்

நாவாய் சூழ்ந்த நளிநீர்ப் படப்பை

மாட மோங்கிய மணன்மலி மறுகிற்

பரதர் மலிந்த பல்வேறு தெருவிற்

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பட்டின மருங்கி னசையின் முட்டில்

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கொழுநிணத் தடியொடு கூர்நரூப் பெறுகுவிற்

வான மூன்றிய மதலை போல

ஏணி சாத்திய வேற்றருஞ் சென்னி

விண்பொர நிவந்த வேயா மாடத்

1. Māmallapuram is now known a Mahābalipuram or Seven Pagodas.

தீரவின் மாட்டிய விலங்குகடர் ளேகிழி
உரவுநீ ரழுவத் தோடுகலங் கரையுந்
துறைபிறக் கொழியப், போகி ” (319-351).

The gist of the above lines is that one can see within the limits of Nirppeyarrru (நீர்ப்பெயற்று), a harbour full of ships carrying horses from western countries and merchandise from northern countries, streets full of store-houses of rich mariners and a light-house in a highly elevated place as if it were a prop to Heaven etc. This clearly shows that Nirppeyarrru ought to have been the sea-port of the country of Toṇḍaimāṇ in the same way as Koṟkai to the Pāṇḍyas, Muciri to the Cēras and Pukār to the Cōlas. That Nirppeyarrru was not distant from the capital of the Toṇḍaimāṇ is clear from the fact that it is the last town mentioned, which had to be passed through before reaching Kāñci.

If in the expression “நீர்ப்பெயற் றெல்லைப் போகி பட்டினம் படரின்”, Nirppeyarrru had not been the name of the paṭṭiṇam or sea-port town itself, the author would surely have mentioned its name as in the following lines of Ciṟupāṇārruppaṭai.

“மணினீர் வைப்பு மதுலொடு பெயரிய
பனிநீர்ப் படுவிற் பட்டினம் படரின்” (lines, 152-3).

Here ‘மதுலொடு பெயரிய பட்டினம்’ means the sea-port having the name of the fortress, or in other words, known as Eyir-paṭṭiṇam (எயிற்பட்டினம்).

Nirppeyarrru means literally that which receives the shower of the sea ((நீர் + பெயல் + து) (*i. e.*) the city which abounds in sea-borne goods. Tirumaṅgai Ālvār expresses the same idea in one of his hymns on the shore temple of Viṣṇu at Māmalla-puram by the phrase *kalaṅkaḷ-iyāṅkum-mallai-k-kaṭaṇ-mallai* (கலங்க எரியங்கு மல்லைக் கடன்மல்லை) which means *Kaṭaṇ-mallai* (Māmallapuram) which is very prosperous on account of the in-coming and out-going ships. Nirppeyarrru (நீர்ப்பெயர்த்து) is mentioned as another reading for the same at the foot-note by Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminatha Ayyar Avl. This seems to be more appropriate since it means that which has the name of the sea. The word *nīr* means sea. This can be seen from ancient Nighaṇṭus as *Piṅkalantai* as also from the following quotations.—

“நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்” (பட்டினப். பாலை, 185)

“நீரொலித் தன்ன நிறைவேற் றுணையொடு”

(மதுரைக் காஞ்சி. வரி. 369.)

Evidently both the readings refer to Kaṭaṇ-mallai, the name by which Mahābalipuram is mentioned by the Ālvārs. The practice of using the synonyms for the name of a thing or place will be seen from the following illustrations—

(i) 'Matil' is used for 'eyil' in the expression *matiloṭu-peya-riya-paṭṭiṇam*¹ (மதிலொடு பெயரிய பட்டினம்) which means, 'the sea-port having the name of the fortress' or in other words 'Eyirpaṭṭiṇam'.

(ii) 'Porkoṭi' is used for Vañci (Karūr) in the expression *Porkoṭi-p-peyarppaṭṭiṇam*²-*ponnagar*² (பொற்கொடிப் பெயர்ப்பட்டினம் பொன்னகர்) which means the city having the name of the golden creeper (i. e. Vañci, the ancient capital of the Cēras known familiarly as Karūr).

(iii) 'Kuruku' is used for the bird *krauñca* in the expression *kuruku-peyar-k-kunṇam*³ (குருகு பெயர்க்குன்றம்) which means *krauñcagiri*.

It will be observed that while in the above expressions we have the full name appearing in other words in the expression Nīr-p-peyarttu we have only the synonym of the word *kaṭal* (nīr = sea), part of the word *kaṭaṇ-mallai*. That the same poet was in the habit of translating part of the name of a place or thing and used it as if it represented the whole name can be seen from the following expression which appears in the Perumpāṇ-ārru-p-paṭai, 'paravai-p-peyar-p-paṭu-vattam' (பறவைப் பெயர்ப் படுவத்தம்) is used to denote *irācāṇṇam* (இராசான்னம்), a kind of superior paddy. Here the word *paravai* (bird) is used to denote *aṇṇam* (swan), and the word *aṇṇam* obtained by translating 'paravai' is used to signify the whole word *irācāṇṇam* (a kind of rice). Hence we may safely infer that the poet had recourse to the same artifice in the lines under consideration.

Nīrpeyarttu and Kaṭaṇ-mallai may, therefore be taken to denote the same place as Māmallapuram.⁴ It is worth noting

1. Śīrūpāṇ. l. 152-3.

2. Maṇi-mēkalai, 26, 92 ; 28, 101-2.

3. *Ibid.* 5, 13 ; Śilappatikāram, pp. 516, 517.

4. From inscriptions, we learn that *Jalaśayanam* was the name of the shore-temple at Māmallapuram. *Jalaśayanam* means 'the lying (posture of God) by water'. Māmallapuram is also known as 'Talaśayanam', as in, 'தலசயனப் புறமான தையூர்' (S. I. I. iii, p. 356) from the Viṣṇu temple of that name in the interior. This temple is so called be-

that a light-house existed there even at the Saṅgam period as is found now.

From the foregoing points it will be seen that even at the age of the Saṅgam Mahābalipuram was a famous sea-port where ships thronged in numbers and busy foreign trade was carried in an extensive scale. Hence the theory that Mahābalipuram was built by Narasiḥmavarman I in the middle of the 7th century as Dr. Dubreuil thinks is not supported by the available facts. On the other hand they point to the conclusion that the city was as ancient as the Saṅgam age and was improved to such a large extent by Narasiḥmavarman I with his architectural rathas, temples etc., that from his time it came to be called Māmalla-puram, after his name Mahāmalla.¹

cause of the lying posture of the God on land. If Māmallapuram was ever known by the name of its shore-temple, Jalaśayanam, we can easily see that the expression 'Nīrppeyarttu' will mean that which has the name of water (jala) and was the place referred to as Māmallapuram. In this connection it is worth mentioning that Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Iyengar Avl. has suggested *nīrp̣p̣ūyarralai-p-pōki* (நீர்ப்புயற் றலப் பேரக), as an emendation for *Nīrppeyarttellaippōki*. If it be the original reading we can easily see that *nīr-p-pāyal* is exactly the literal translation of *Jalaśayanam*.

1. The same is dealt with in detail in my 'Ālvārkaḷ Kālanilai' published in the Tamil monthly *Tamilian Friend*, Madras.

THE ABHISĀRIKĀ VAÑCITAKA¹—A FORGOTTEN PLAY
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Peterson in his introduction to the 'Subhāṣitāvalī' observes that among the verses that are attributed to Viśākhadeva in the anthologies, there are some that are not found in the *Mudrārākṣasa*; hence he legitimately infers that Viśākhadeva may have some other work also to his credit. This inference is true for there is a mention of the drama *Abhisārikāvañcitaka* in both the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the *Abhinavabhārati*, in Viśākhadeva's name.

The date of Viśākhadeva can be fixed with a fair degree of accuracy. As the late Mr. Justice Telang observes he "cannot be earlier" than the 8th century A. D.

Unlike the *Mudrārākṣasa* the *Abhisārikāvañcitaka* seems to be a love-play. The following are the references to the above drama.

i. कदाचित्कामोऽनुत्पद्यमानः अङ्गलीलालक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते ।
नष्टरागप्रत्यानयनं वा ततो भवति । यथा विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावन्धितके
वत्सेशस्य पद्मावती भट्टशबरीवेषाद्याचरणरूपात् लीलाचेष्टितात् कामः प्रत्या-
ख्यातः (प्रत्यानीतः or ? प्रत्यायातः)

P. 55, Vol. III. *Abhinavabhārati*, deposited in
the Govt. Oriental mss. Library, Madras.

ii. क्रोधो यथा--श्रीविशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावन्धिते वत्सराजः सम्भावित-
पुत्रवधायै पद्मावत्यै कुद्धः । तथा च अन्यथात्—

प्रदुष्टोऽग्रग्राहं सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-

दुपालीनश्शाखां फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरोः ।

फणाली.....नार्भीत्युत परिचयां क्रौर्यनितरां

विषज्वालागर्भां चिरमुगकन्यामनुसृतः ॥

P. 484, Vol. II. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, deposited in the
Govt. Oriental mss. Library, Madras.

१. अभिसारिकया सत्या [शबरीवेषेण पद्मावत्या] वन्धितः उदयनो यस्मिन् तत्,
अभिसारिकावन्धितकम् ।

From the above two extracts we understand that the play has two names (*e. i.*)

- (1) Abhisārikāvañcita
- (2) Abhisārikābandhitaka.

These two extracts furnish us with some material from which we may make some surmises as to the significance of the title and the nature of the plot.

It is well-known that Udayana was a love-hero of the *dakṣiṇa* type. It is also known how the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa lulled the king into the belief that Vāsavadattā was burnt, and persuaded him to marry Padmāvatī. In the same way a mischievous character in this play, might have, with the determined purpose of bringing about an estrangement between the king and Padmāvatī, set afloat the rumour that Padmāvatī killed Udayana's son and that she was a murderess.

Udayana had many wives and we do not know whether Padmāvatī, as the rumour had it, killed the son of Udayana born of Vāsavadattā or somebody else; but we may hazard a guess namely that it might be Udayana's son through Vāsavadattā.

Mutual jealousy and hatred are not unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour. He lost his self-control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Padmāvatī not the nymph of celestial beauty but a "serpent woman glowing with flames of poison". He rebuked Padmāvatī in menacing tones.

Poor Padmāvatī, a victim to slander, found that she had lost the love of Udayana. She tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king and to vindicate her innocence would be useless and futile. Hence she hit upon the following plan. Dressed as a charming huntress she attracted the attention of the tender-minded Udayana. As time rolled on Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her love. When Padmāvatī found that the love of the king was genuine she revealed her identity. Probably then she explained her innocence.

Thus there is the नष्टरागप्रत्यानयन as said in the Abhinavabhāratī. This then explains the significance of the title. By a

clever impersonation of a huntress, Padmāvati in the roll of an Abhisārikā deceives the king and regains her lost love.

“The course of true love never runs smooth” said Shakespeare and this play is another exquisite illustration of this statement. The plot appears to have been on the lines indicated above.

This drama also shows how Viśākhadeva finds himself in his elements alike in polity and Śṛṅgāra, and that he can make diction dance to the theme he chooses.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनम् ॥

BY

VEDANTALANKARA

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I

‘शब्दब्रह्मेति यच्चेदं शास्त्रं वेदाख्यमुच्यते ।

तदप्यधिष्ठितं’ येन नमस्तस्मै चिदात्मने ॥

अस्ति विविधदर्शनपरिशीलनपचेलिमस्वान्तानां समेषामियं समा सम्प्र-
तिपत्तिः—यत्किल श्रुतिशिरसामैदम्पर्यं भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं दर्शनेषु, विच्छिन्नास्वविच्छिन्नं
प्रक्रियासु, महासामान्यमिव चकास्ति ; यत्र च, प्रतिस्वं स्वप्रधानानीव बहूनि तन्त्रा-
ण्युपनिबध्नन्तोऽपि, सर्वज्ञकल्पा एकं भवन्ति मुनयः; तस्य भावयाथात्म्यस्य विना
सम्प्रदायपरित्यागं, विना च दर्शनसङ्करम्, अखिलशास्त्रगतिसामान्येन संदर्शनं
विपश्चितां भवति मुख्यं प्रयोजनम् । अनुरूपं च तत्तेषां तथाविधायाः श्रुत-
शीलयोस्सम्पद इति । किं बहुना, बाह्या अप्यद्यत्वे, न केवलं भारते वर्षे, विपु-
लायामेव विश्वभरायां लब्धजन्मनां सितासितनैकविधतत्त्वनिबन्धानामवगतिसामान्य-
ल्लिख्यविषया महान्तं यत्नमातिष्ठन्ते । अस्य च गतिसामान्यस्य लम्बने त्रयः प्रक्रमा
भवन्ति । विरुद्धवदाभासं वेदवाक्यजातं दर्शनग्रन्थविभागं वा परित्यज्य नव्यमार्गे-
णापूर्वार्थसङ्कलनमिति प्रथमः, यं वेदबाह्या रोचयन्ते । त इमे संप्रदायविहीनतया
कमपि सर्वानभिमतमर्थमुत्प्रेक्ष्य पर्यवसाने पुरुषार्थाद्याहन्येरन् । क्लिष्टयोजना-
न्तरकरणेन सर्वेषां ग्रन्थानामेकार्थसंपादनं नाम द्वितीयः, यं विज्ञानभिक्षुप्रभृतयः
प्रतिपेदिरे । तेऽपि पाण्डित्यचिख्यापयिषामात्रप्रवर्तितव्याख्याभेदास्सन्मार्गावलम्बि-
नामनपेक्ष्याः । विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणाचार्यमधुसूदनसरस्वतीप्रमुखैरनुक्रान्तस्तृतीयः,
यत्र किलाव्याहृतसंप्रदायागतस्वस्वार्थनिष्ठानामेव वाक्यानां वक्तृणां वा पर्यवसित-
भावसंगमनं विस्रम्भास्पदमायतते । यथाहुस्सुरेश्वराचार्याः—

“यथा यथा भवेत्पुंसां व्युत्पत्तिः प्रत्यगात्मानि ।

सा सैव प्रक्रिया ज्ञेया सा चाप्यत्रानवस्थिता ॥”

इति । मन्यामहे श्रीभगवत्पादा अपि द्वितीयाध्यायेऽविरोधप्रदर्शनगमनिकयामुं क्रममुद्घेदयामासुः ।

भर्तृहरिणाप्युक्तम्—

“उपायाः शिक्षमाणानां बालानामुपलालनाः ।

असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततस्सत्यं समीहते ॥” इति

तत्सिद्धं—उत्सृज्य प्रथमं द्वितीयं च पन्थानं विचार्य बहुधा सङ्ग्रहीय-
स्तत्त्वदर्शनाभिमुखो लोकः पण्डितकुलेन, नापूर्वार्थप्रकल्पनया, न च यथावस्थित-
प्रक्रियाबाधनेनेति । तत् यदिदं प्रथमेन प्रक्रमेणाभिनवार्थोत्प्रेक्षणं पुरुषमतिवैश्व-
रूप्यादन्यान्यस्वभावमनवस्थितं तदिति नेह विचारक्षमम् । द्वितीयस्तु शास्त्राभिमत-
मार्गावलम्बनापदेशेन प्रवर्तितः; सम्भाविततैश्च श्रीभट्टनागेशादिभिरुपाश्रितः ।
स कदाचित् तत्त्वविजिज्ञासूनां केषाञ्चिद्युक्तरूपः प्रतिभायादित्यवश्यं तदसारता-
दर्शनाय यतितव्यम् । तत्रापि शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनयोर्भेदद्वयसिद्धप्रक्रियान्यथाकरण-
व्यावर्तनेन पर्यवसितभावानुगतिसंदर्शनायेह शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनं प्रक्रम्यते ।

तत्र प्रथमं तावच्छब्दतत्त्वनिरूपणावसरे निर्भेदस्वभावमान्तराखण्डवाक्य-
स्फोटमेव तत्तद्वाह्यार्थाध्यासकल्पनाया अधिष्ठानं प्रसाध्य तदनुप्रसङ्गेन विज्ञान-
भिक्षुणा सङ्कल्पितां सदसत्ख्यातिं सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तमुत्प्रेक्षमाणस्य श्रीभट्टनागेशस्य
व्यवसायमुपादब्रहे; यस्य परीक्षणाद्वितीयस्य प्रक्रमस्यापरमार्थत्वं व्यक्तीभवेत् ।

चित्रमिदं ग्रहीष्यन्ति भावुकाः—कथमिव सर्वतन्त्रानिष्णातोऽयमपि विगीत-
मर्थमभिदधीतेति । अथवा गमनीयं कथमपि सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रक्रियांशोऽपि गति-
सामान्यमिति स्वयंकृतदृढाभिनिवेशस्य मनोरथसंपत्तौ पुष्कलेयं साधनसम्पत्,
यदखिलशास्त्रेषु पारगतमस्य प्रावीण्यमप्रतिहतश्च प्रज्ञाप्रसरः । तदिममेव कृत-
विमर्शमुपहरामो यस्य सारासारयोस्सन्तः प्रमाणम् ।

आलक्ष्यते हि श्रुतिपथमवतीर्णमात्रेषु शब्देषु समनन्तरभाविनी अर्थस्फूर्तिः ।
तत् कः खलु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः, येनायं प्रतिनियतोऽर्थसम्प्रत्यय इति ? एवं
विचिन्वाना नानैवानयोस्सम्बन्धभेदान् पृथग्वर्तमानशस्त्रस्थास्सन्ददृशुः । ईश्वरेच्छा
शब्दार्थयोस्सम्बन्ध इति केचित् । अनुभावकत्वं तदित्यन्ये । शब्दार्थयोः परस्परा-
ध्यासगृहीतं तादात्म्यं, तन्निर्ग्राह्यो वाच्यवाचकभावो वा स इति वैयाकरणाः ।

तत्र विच्छिन्नयोरिव सतोः शब्दार्थयोरसम्भाव्यमभेदाध्यसनमिति तत्सम्भावयितुमनाः श्रीभट्टनागेशः ससाक्षिकया बुद्धिवृत्त्या बहिर्दर्शितानपि विषयान् तस्या एव बुद्धिवृत्त्यै प्रत्यर्पयामास । एवमन्तस्सञ्चारितेषु विषयेषु, अर्थानां तदुपग्राहिवृत्तीनां, शब्दस्य च तत्र तादात्म्यं सम्भवदध्यासमुपकल्प्य सर्वं रमणीयं मेने । अथ च यथेयं प्रक्रिया सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तः स्यात् श्रुतिसिद्धा च, तथा संविधानाय सुदूरमन्विष्यन् साङ्ख्यप्रवचनभाष्यं नाम कञ्चन संवादग्रन्थमुपलेभे । वितर्कयामो, यस्य प्रणेता विज्ञानभिक्षुस्तदात्वे बहुभिः प्रामाणिक इति परिगृहीतः स्यात् ।

तत्त्वतस्सर्वसङ्करवादी सोऽयं विज्ञानभिक्षुरन्वर्थनामा, यस्य विज्ञानं बहुमी रूपैराकीर्णं दृश्यते । तत आच्छिन्नैः प्रकीर्णकैरर्थैः सङ्घटितेयं प्रक्रिया कथं नाम हृदयमधिरोहेदिति सुधियो विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु ।

प्रसाध्यैवं बौद्धयोः शब्दार्थयोरभेदं, ततस्त्रस्यन्तात्मख्यातिभयात्, सदसत्ख्यातिं नाम भिक्षूक्तं वादमुपचिक्षेप । सर्वं किल वस्तुजातमान्तरेणात्मना सदपि बाह्येन रूपेणासदेव । तस्य सदसतो भानं—ख्यातिरिति सविस्तरमाचख्यौ । अस्यां च ख्यातौ “सदसत्ख्यातिर्वाधाबाधाम्यार्म्” इति साङ्ख्यप्रवचनसूत्रं प्रमाणमिति ।

अत्रेदं वक्तव्यम् । भवेदेतदेवं यदि नाम ख्यात्यंशे वैयाकरणाः साङ्ख्यवादमवलम्बन्त इति किमपि निश्चितं प्रमाणमुपलभेमहि ; यदि वा यथोक्ता ख्यातिस्साङ्ख्यैराद्रियेत । तत्रानादरणादेव स्वग्रन्थेषु नेदृग्विधां ख्यातिमपेक्षते कोऽपि वैयाकरण इति बहिरेव प्रथमः पक्षो निरोद्धव्यः । अथापि स्यात्—अपुरस्कृतापि स्वैरियमप्रतिषेधमात्रादनुमन्येत, यदि व्यवतिष्ठेत लब्धरूपा केषाञ्चिदर्शने । यावदियं प्रतिपक्षभूतैरख्यात्यन्यथाख्यातिवादैः प्रतिबद्धप्रसरा नैवात्मानं लभते साङ्ख्यादिदर्शनेषु ; तदा कोऽस्या अप्रतिषेधः, दूरत एवानुमतिः ।

तथा हि विधीयमाने साङ्ख्यदर्शनस्य कोष्ठशोधने न शक्यं निलीनरूपेष्वप्येषा कचिल्लक्षयितुम् । “सत्त्वपुरुषान्यताज्ञानं मोक्षनिबन्धनम्” “विवेकख्यातिपर्यन्तं ज्ञेयं प्रकृतिचेष्टितम्” । “लिङ्गस्याविनिवृत्तेस्तस्मादुःखं स्वभावेन।” इति च तत्र तत्र प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्भेदाग्रहप्रतिबद्धमिव, तद्रूढमात्रायत्तलाभमिव च

१. साङ्ख्यप्रवचनसूत्रम्. ५. ५६.

२. साङ्ख्यकारिका. ५५.

मोक्षमभिव्याहरन्तः स्वरसोन्नीतामख्यातिमेवाभिप्रयन्ति साङ्ख्ये इति गम्यते । न चाविचारितमूलं 'अख्यातिवादी प्रभाकरः' इति लोकप्रतीतिमवलम्ब्यसाङ्ख्यत्वमस्य निर्वन्धमात्रेणास्थातुं युक्तम् । युक्तं तु साङ्ख्येभ्य एव प्राभाकरा इमं वादं परिजगृहुरिति प्रज्ञातुम् । तथा चाख्यातिनिरूपणगतां "एतेनान्यसम्प्रयोगेऽन्यविषयज्ञानस्य स्मृतित्वतत्प्रमोषौ सर्वत्र व्याख्यातौ द्रष्टव्यौ" इति पञ्चपादिकामेवमवतारयन्ति विवरणाचार्याः—“नन्वतत्त्वे तत्त्वज्ञानमिति शास्त्रकारेणैव दर्शितस्संसर्गविभ्रम इति नेत्याह—एतेनेति” । शास्त्रकारेणेति—साङ्ख्येनेत्यर्थः । एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रमास्मृतिभ्यामन्यो भ्रमो नाम न तृतीयो ज्ञानराशिस्समस्ति ; सेयं भ्रमज्ञानमात्रस्याभावोऽख्यातिरिति प्रत्यवतिष्ठमानैः प्राभाकरैरन्यैर्वा यथामूलोदितं प्रत्यवस्थातव्यम्, न विपर्ययेण, तदिह ; अतत्त्वे इति संसर्गार्था सप्तमीविभक्तिं प्रयुज्य भवतां शास्त्रकारः कपिल एव संसर्गविभ्रममाह ; तत्कथं संसर्गाग्रहणं भ्रम इति शङ्कासमाधानाय 'एतेन' इत्यादिमूलं—इति । अवतारितस्य मूलस्य “वक्तव्ये च पूर्ववादिनाप्यविवेके संसर्गज्ञानकल्पनागौवादख्यातिरेव युक्तेति भावः” इति विवरणं स्पष्टार्थम् । एतेनासत्यपि संसर्गावमर्शे, यत् संसर्गाभिमानस्तद्व्यपदेशो वा भ्रमत्वाभिमतज्ञानस्य फलं, तदभिप्रायं शास्त्रकृद्वचनं व्याख्यातमिति वेदितव्यम् ।

अपि च न्यायसिद्धेऽस्मिन्नर्थे लिङ्गदर्शनं भवति । एतद्वाददूषणोपसंहारे पञ्चपाद्यामुक्तं “^३तथा च तन्त्रान्तरीया आहुः अनुभूतविषयासम्प्रमोषा स्मृतिः इति” । कथं कृत्वेदं ज्ञापकम् ? तन्त्रान्तरशब्देन पातञ्जलं योगदर्शनमाह । प्रस्तुतादन्यत् प्रस्तुतेन सजीतीयं तन्त्रं तन्त्रान्तरमुच्यत इति शाब्दन्यायविदः । तथा ह्यस्य गोर्द्धितीयोऽन्वेष्टव्य इत्युक्ते गौरेव द्वितीयोऽन्विष्यते नाश्वः पुरुषो वा । तदनेन योगदर्शनेन प्रस्तुतसजातीयेन भवितव्यम् । यथा च साङ्ख्येन सजातीयं तत्, नैवं प्राभाकरेणेतीदं साङ्ख्यसम्मतस्याख्यातिवादस्येह प्रस्तुतत्वे लिङ्गम् ।

अथवा नावश्यं मूलव्याख्यानयोरेवं निगूढभावसंवेदनायातितरां क्लेशेस्सोढव्यः । साङ्ख्यमतविवेचनावसरे प्रत्यक्षमेवाचार्यब्रह्मानन्दसरस्वत्यो वदन्ति । इदं तन्मतोपसंहारस्थितं तदीयं वचनम्—“एवं चासंसर्गग्रहेण न कस्यापि बाध इति लाघवम् । अत एव भ्रमस्थले प्राभाकरोऽप्येवमाहेति भावः” इति । इदं रजतमिति संसर्गज्ञानाश्रयणे ख्यात्यन्तरोष्विव नेदं रजतमिति ज्ञानेन तस्य बाधः कल्प-

१. पञ्चपादिका. ७. पृ. २. पञ्चपादिकाविवरणम्. २३. पृ. ३. पञ्चपादिका. ९. पृ.
४. योगसूत्रम्. १. ११. ५. सिद्धान्तबिन्दुटीका. ५९. पृ.

नीयः । तदकल्पनादस्मिन्मते लाघवमित्यर्थः । एवमख्यातिवादं प्राधान्येन साङ्ख्य-
मते प्रदर्श्य प्राभाकरे तमतिदिशति—अत एवेति । अनेनातिदेशेनेदं दृढीकृतं
भवति—यत्तदुक्तमस्माभिः साङ्ख्येभ्यः प्राभाकरा इमं वादं परिजगृहुरिति ।
तस्मादख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इत्येष पक्षस्साधीयान् ।

अवश्यं चायमेव पक्षस्साधीयान् । साङ्ख्यादिबहुदर्शनपरिशीलिनामेतत्कर-
वदरनिर्विशेषं प्रतिभाति—यत्साङ्ख्याः, उपयन्तोऽपि षष्टिं पदार्थानां, असङ्गादि-
स्वभावमात्मानमेव परमतात्पर्येण स्वशास्त्रे प्रतिपिपादयिषन्ति । न च तत्क्रमते
नियतस्य प्रक्रियाविशेषस्योपगमादृत इति तादर्थ्येनेतरदर्शजातं निरूपयन्ति । अत
एव “एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः” इति सूत्रे साङ्ख्यादिदर्शनान्यंशेनांशेन वेदान्तार्था-
न्याचक्षाणानि कामं पुरुषबुद्धिसौकर्यमपेक्ष्य कामपि प्रक्रियां रचयन्तु; तात्पर्य-
विषयेषु त्वर्थेषु अनपोद्यमेषां प्रामाण्यमिति भाष्यभामत्योः स्थितम् । अत एव चां-
शेनापि तत्त्वयाथात्म्यं व्याचिकीर्षद्विरस्मदीयैर्दर्शनकृद्भिः प्रक्रियैका प्रदर्श्यते, यत्र
प्रमाणप्रमेयविभागः प्रतिकर्मव्यवस्था चेत्येवमादि सर्वं लोकयात्रानिर्वहणाय साधु
समर्थितं चकास्ति । तस्याश्च प्रक्रियाया अभावहेतोर्हन्त ! कति वा दर्शनाभासा
उद्भिन्नमात्रा एवाद्यत्वेऽदर्शनं गताः । तदिह प्रेक्षावद्भिः प्रक्रियामात्रानभिनिविष्टै-
रपीदमेकं नोपेक्ष्येत, यस्यादेशाय सर्वज्ञकल्पा मुनयोऽवतेरुः ।

साङ्ख्यदर्शने चानया दृष्ट्या परीक्ष्यमाणे, योऽस्य प्रतिपाद्यः स्वप्रधानः
पुरुषः, तस्य स्थापनायां कियानुपकारो भवति, केन वा ख्यातिवादेनेति विवेक्त-
व्यम् । अस्ति संसारित्वाभिमतस्यात्मनो बन्धो नाम, यस्मान्मोक्षमाणान्प्रति प्रव-
वृते निखिलं शास्त्रजातम् । तत्र प्रत्यगात्मनः कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वादिः स्वो धर्मः ;
कैवल्यावस्थायां संत्यपि तद्योगे साधनाभावात्किमप्यकुर्वन्, विषयसम्प्रयोगाभावा-
दभुञ्जानश्च भोगान् विधूतबन्धस्तिष्ठतीति वैशेषिकादयः प्रतिपन्नाः । प्राक्च तत्त्व-
ज्ञानान्नित्योऽप्यपरिच्छिन्नोऽपि स स्वस्मिन्नारोपितैरुपजनापायपरिच्छेदादिभिर्देह-
धर्मैरन्यथैव विभाव्यत इति मिथ्याज्ञाननिर्मूलनाय तैरन्यथाख्यातिवादिभिः पदार्थ-
तत्त्वनिर्णयप्रधानं शास्त्रमारब्धम् । सा हि शक्तिः शक्येन विना न निरूप्यते ।
मोक्षदशायामपि तस्याः शक्यसम्बन्धोपगमे संसारादविशेष इत्यपरितुष्यन्त औप-
निषदा इदं व्युदस्थापयन् । अन्तःकरणपर्यन्तस्य कार्यकरणसङ्घातस्यैव कर्तृत्वं
भोक्तृत्वं च । आत्मा तु सदैव शुद्धः सदैव मुक्तः, केवलमविद्योपस्थापितेना-

निर्वचनीयबन्धेन तद्वानिवाजायत इत्यविद्यानिवर्तकसाक्षात्कारपर्यन्ताय तत्त्वज्ञानाय तैस्सर्वे वेदान्ता आरभ्यन्ते ।

तदत्रापि दर्शनेऽनिर्वचनीयैरपि धर्मैः कल्पितेन संसर्गेण तद्वानिवेति सापेक्षवचनकरणादात्मनः कियानपि बन्धसंस्पर्शोऽङ्गीकृतः स्यात् । एवमनुशयानैस्साङ्ख्यैरख्यातिवादो दर्शितोपपत्तिरुपाजहे । अहो तस्य महर्षिकपिलस्य सुश्लिष्टं भावगाम्भीर्यम् ! तदाहुरार्यमतयः

“तस्मान्न बध्यतेऽद्वा न मुच्यते नापि संसरति कश्चित् ।

संसरति बध्यते मुच्यते च नानाश्रया प्रकृतिः”^१ ॥

इति । एतदुक्तं भवति—बुद्धिधर्मा बुद्धावेव ; नारोपिता अप्यात्मनि, आरोपमात्रस्यैवालीकत्वात् । मुख्यहं दुःखी मूढ इति च व्यपदेशमात्रमिति ।

परमार्थतस्तु नानया दिशा तैरात्मनोऽसङ्गत्वं प्रत्याशा कार्या—प्रकृति-पुरुषयोः स्वस्वामिभावो बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बलक्षणस्संयोगो वा नित्य इति हि साङ्ख्येयमन्यन्ते । तदेषां मते प्रकृतिसंयोगनिमित्तं मुक्तानां पुनरुत्पत्तिः, अनिमोक्षो वा प्रसज्येत । अतश्चात्मव्यतिरेकेणोपाधिमात्रस्य बाधने शास्त्रं प्रवर्तते । कल्पनैकशरीरानुपाधिधर्मानुपपत्तौऽपि न तैरात्मनः कोऽपि संस्पर्शोऽस्ति । अध्यासं निरूप्य श्रीभगवत्पादा आत्मन ऐकान्तिकासङ्गत्वप्रतिपादनाय, मन्यामहे, विशेषतस्साङ्ख्येयानां यथोपलक्षितातङ्कप्रतिसमाधानाय चैवमादिशन्ति “तत्रैवं सति यत्र यदध्यासस्तत्कृतेन दोषेण गुणेन वायुमात्रेणापि स न सम्बध्यते”^२ इति । अत एव—तापकं रजः, सत्त्वं तप्यं, न पुरुषः; वेदान्तवादिनां तु तप्य आत्मैवेत्यनिर्मेक्षस्स्यात्—इति साङ्ख्यकृतस्याक्षेपस्य परिहारसाम्यं मतद्वये प्रदर्श्य पुनस्साङ्ख्यस्यैव दुर्वारमिमं दोषं प्रसञ्जयन्ति स्म भगवत्पादाः “अदर्शनस्य तमसो नित्यत्वाभ्युपगमात्” इत्यादिनेत्यलम् । ईदृश्यामर्थव्यवस्थितौ विज्ञान-भिक्षुणोपक्षिप्तस्य सदसत्ख्यातिवादस्य नेहावसरोऽस्ति कश्चित् । तस्माद्विमुच्य श्रीनागेशवचनेषु परमार्थप्रत्ययं, आभ्यन्तरविषयपरीक्षणेनाख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इति निर्णेतव्यम् ॥

स्यादेतत् चमसाधिकरणे अजामन्त्रव्याख्यानरूपमिदमस्ति भाष्यम् “तां प्रकृतिमज एकः पुरुषो जुषमाणः प्रीयमाणः सेवमानो वानुशेते । तामेवाविद्ययात्मत्वे-

१. साङ्ख्यकारिका. २. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. १. १. १.

३. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. २. २. १०.

नोपगम्य सुखी दुःखी मूढोऽहमित्यविवेकितया संसरति” इति । विवृतं चैतदाचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्रैः “चितिशक्तिस्त्वपरिणामिन्यप्रतिसङ्गमापि बुद्धिसत्त्वादात्मनो विवेकमबुध्यमाना बुद्धिवृत्त्यैव विपर्यासेनाविद्यया बुद्धिस्थानुखादीनात्मन्यभिमन्यमाना सुखादिमतीव भवति” इति । भाष्यभामतीवचनयोरनयोः प्रधानवादसम्मत एव विवेकाग्रहपूर्वः प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरभेदाध्यासो धर्मसंसर्गाध्यासश्च व्यक्तमनूद्यमानः प्रतीयते । हन्त महता परिकरबन्धेन साङ्ख्यानानामख्यातिं विचिन्वानाः कोष्ठशोधनका भाष्यभामतीभ्यां विरुध्यन्ते । “साङ्ख्यानानामप्यस्ति भ्रमः । स च बुद्धवेवेति विशेषः” इति कल्पतरुणा च विशेषतः ।

सत्यं महावाक्यस्थानीयोऽयमजामन्त्रस्साङ्ख्यानानाम् । सत्यं चेदृशेन मन्त्रेण स्वमतमौपनिषदमाशङ्कमानं साङ्ख्यमवतारयद्विरभिन्नतदीयप्रक्रियमेव मन्त्रार्थः प्रकाश्यते । तथापीदं तावत्पृच्छामः—कः खल्वनुशयः स्फुटार्थयोरनयोर्भाष्यभामत्योः? यन्निमित्तवैयाकुलीपरिहारायेवेदं साङ्ख्यानमपीति व्याख्यातुर्वचनम् । ननु चेदं कस्याप्यनुशयस्य परिहाराय स्यात् ; स्पष्टप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं वा । सर्वं वाक्यं सानुशयमेव पश्यतो भवतो वा कः कामः समृध्यते? एवं तर्हि समर्थयिष्यामो वयम् । नास्ति-भ्रमास्साङ्ख्या इति सिद्धं कृत्वा क्रममाणमिदमेव भवतां साक्षित्वेनानुक्रान्तं वचनं भवत्यलमस्मत्पक्षव्यवस्थापनायेति । प्रसिद्धं च प्रतिवादिनः साक्ष्यवचनेन मात्रय सूचितं वादिनोऽर्थं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्ति न्यायविदः ।

अथवा कृतमिहासद्यवहारस्थितं कौटसाक्ष्यमुदाहृत्य । साङ्ख्यानमस्ति भ्रम इति वाक्यार्थपर्यवसानमपि चिन्तनीयमेव । न वा किञ्चिदपूर्वमिवात्र चिन्तनीयमस्ति । चिन्तितपूर्वमेतदाचार्यदीक्षितेन्द्रैः । तथा ह्यनध्यवसायव्याख्यानरीत्यैव वाक्यमिदं तैर्व्याख्यायते—भ्रम इति । स त्वगृहीतासंसर्गधर्मधर्मिविषयज्ञानद्वयरूपः, तदुभयसंसर्गविषयकैकज्ञानरूपो वेत्यन्यदेतत्—इति । इदमत्राकूतम्—साङ्ख्याः किल पुरुषस्यासङ्गत्वभङ्गभीरुका नान्यसंसर्गं तत्राध्यस्यमानं रोचयन्ते । “तामात्मत्वेनोपगम्य,” “बुद्धिस्थान् सुखदुःखादीनात्मन्यभिनिविशमाना” इति च भाष्यभामत्योर्नायं संसर्गविभ्रमस्य सिद्धवदनुवाद इति भ्रमितव्यम् । धर्मधर्मिणोर्विवेकाग्रहणस्य फलमभेदसंसर्गव्यपदेशमात्रमिह भ्रमशब्देनोच्यते । एवं हि ‘उपगम्य’ ‘अभिनिविशमाना’ इति पदद्वयं सामञ्जस्येनानुगतं भवति । अथवा यथाश्रुताक्षरार्थग्रहणपरिश्रान्तमतय इत्थं व्युत्पादनीयाः । अस्तु संसर्गभ्रमः, न तावता पुरु-

प्रस्यासङ्गत्वमपैति । छायाया बुद्धिवृत्तिं गाहमाने पुरुषतत्त्वे संसर्गविभ्रमो नाम । तत्रस्थः प्रतिबिम्बत्वैव तेन संस्पृक्ष्यत इति । तदिदमप्युक्तं 'चितिशक्तिस्त्वपरिणामिन्यप्रतिसङ्कमापि' इति । तदाहुः---

“तस्मात्संयोगादचेतनं चेतनावदिव लिङ्गम् ।

गुणकर्तृत्वेऽपि तथा कर्तेव भवत्युदासीनः ॥” इति ।

वस्तुतो न पूर्वोक्तेन हेतुनात्मनः सङ्गकृतो दोषश्शमयितुं शक्यः । प्रतिबिम्बो नामोपाध्यन्तरुपलभ्यमानो विम्ब उच्यते ; न विम्ब एव साक्षात्, नापि वस्त्वन्तरम् । तद्यदिदं बुद्धिधर्माः प्रतिबिम्ब आरोप्यन्ते—विम्ब एव तदारोपितास्ते भवन्ति । एतद्विषयपरिजिहीर्षयेवोक्तमित्यन्यत् इति । अन्यशब्देन द्वितीयाध्याये विशिष्य साङ्ख्यानवादग्रन्थपरीक्षणेन सर्वेषामाचार्याणामख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इति निर्भरो व्यक्तीभविष्यतीति सूच्यते ।

स्यादेतत् । स तु भ्रमः बुद्धावेवेति विशेष इत्युक्तं कल्पतरौ । तत्कोऽसौ साङ्ख्यानानां विशेषः? अयं विशेषः—अख्यातिवादिनां साङ्ख्यानानां प्राभाकराणां च मते यद्यपीदं रजतमिति संसर्गविषयं चाक्षुषं भ्रमज्ञानं न सम्भवति, तथापि इदं रजतमिति रजतार्थिप्रवृत्तेः, सामानाधिकरण्यव्यपदेशस्य च भ्रमस्थलेषूपपादनाय साङ्ख्या अन्ततश्चाक्षुषज्ञानसमनन्तरभाविनं मानसमिदंरजतयोस्संसर्गावमर्शमुपेयुः । प्राभाकरास्तु—इदं रजतमिति न बाह्यं, नापि मानसं भ्रमज्ञानं समस्ति ; केवलं संसर्गाभिमानमात्रमेतत्, यन्मूला पुरोवस्तुनि प्रवृत्तिः, रजतव्यपदेशश्चेति व्यवस्थिताः । एवमविशिष्टेऽप्यख्यातिवादे मानससंसर्गप्रतिभासोपगमानुपगमाभ्यां साङ्ख्यप्राभाकरयोरस्ति विशेष इति । अत एव अतस्मिन्स्तद्बुद्धिरित्यध्यासस्वरूपमभिधाय भगवत्पादाः “सर्वथापि त्वन्यस्यान्यधर्मावभसतां न व्यभिचरति” इत्युक्तलक्षणेऽध्यासे सर्वदर्शनसंवादं दर्शयन्ति स्म । तत्रान्यस्यान्यधर्मावभासोऽख्यातिवादिनामसिद्ध इत्याशङ्क्य विवरणाचार्या इत्थं विवेचयामासुः “अख्यातिवादिनापि मानसं संसर्गज्ञानं संसर्गाभिमानो वा वक्तव्य इत्यभिप्रायः”^३ इति । मानसं संसर्गज्ञानं साङ्ख्यैः संसर्गाभिमानस्तु प्राभाकरैरित्येवं योजनीयम् । देहादावनात्मन्यात्मबुद्धिरविद्येति साङ्ख्या मन्यन्त इति च तत्त्वदीपने स्पष्टम् । तदिदमप्यभिसन्धायोक्तमित्यन्यदेतत् इति ।

१. साङ्ख्यकारिका. २०.

२. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. १. १. १.

३. फल्गुपादिकाविवरणम्. ३६.

स्यादेतत् । द्वितीयाध्यायस्थितैर्वचनैरख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इति आचार्याणा-
मविप्रतिपत्तिर्लक्ष्यत इति प्रतिज्ञातम् । कानि पुनस्तानि वचनानि ? तान्युदा-
हरिष्यामः “सत्त्वानुरोधित्वाच्चेतनोऽपि तप्यत इवेति चेत् परमार्थतस्तर्हि नैव
तप्यत इत्यापत्तिः ; इव शब्दप्रयोगात् ।.....अतश्चाविद्याकृतोऽयं
तप्यतापकभावो न पारमार्थिक इत्यभ्युपगन्तव्यम्”^१ इति । तापकं रजः, सत्त्वं
तप्यमिति बुद्धितत्त्वस्यैव संसारबन्धोपगमे पुरुषस्य तापोपशान्तये सम्यग्दर्शन-
मुपदिशत् शास्त्रं साङ्ख्यानमनर्थकं प्राप्नोति । एतदोषपरिहाराय सत्त्वानुरोधित्वादि-
तीदं साङ्ख्यवचनम् । तत्र निगूढं भावं विशदयति “दर्शितविषयत्वात्तु बुद्धिसत्त्वे
तप्ये तदविभागापत्त्या पुरुषोऽप्यनुतप्यत इव, न तु तप्यतेऽपरिणामित्वादित्युक्तम् ।
तदविभागापत्तिश्चाविद्या । तथा चाविद्याकृतस्तप्यतापकभावः”^२ इति । अवि-
भागापत्तिरित्युक्ते बुद्धिपुरुषयोर्मा भूत् परमार्थतोऽभेदगमनमिति व्याचष्टे “अवि-
भागापत्तिस्तर्हि क्षीरवत्सत्येति तन्निमित्ता तप्तिः पुंसस्सत्या स्यात् ; अत आह—
तदविभागापत्तिश्चेति । अविवेको ह्यविभागः”^३ इति ।

यदवोचाम, अन्यदेतत् इत्यनेन द्वितीयाध्यायगतोऽभिप्रायविशेषः सूच्यत
इति, तदाविष्करणाय दीक्षितेन्द्रैरित्थमयं ग्रन्थोऽवतार्यते “अख्यातिवादिनस्साङ्ख्य-
स्य मते भ्रमविषयैक्यविवर्तभावादित्याशङ्क्य विवेकाग्रह एवाविभागशब्देन विव-
क्षित इति व्याचष्टे—अविवेक इति” । उदाहृतेषु हि वचनेषु अविद्या, अवि-
भागापत्तिः, अविवेकः, विवेकाग्रह इत्येतेषां पूर्वपूर्वं प्रति उत्तरोत्तराणि त्रीणि
व्याख्यानपदानि भवन्ति । तदत्र भाष्यभामत्योविशेषतः कल्पतरुपरिमलयो-
श्चाख्यातिवाद एव साङ्ख्यानमभिमत इति निर्भरः स्फुटमवगम्यते । यदपि “सद-
सत्ख्यातिर्वाधाबाधाम्याम्” इति साङ्ख्यसूत्रं प्रमाणमन्यैरुपन्यस्तं, तेनापि यथोदित-
लक्षणा ख्यातिस्साङ्ख्यानानां सेत्स्यतीति तेषामिदं मनोरथमात्रमित्युपरिष्ठान्निवेदयिष्यते ।

तदेवं सदसत्ख्यातिवादस्सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्त इति श्रीभट्टनगेशाभिमानस्य
मूलशैथिल्यापादनायाख्यातिवादिनस्साङ्ख्या इत्येतद्विस्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितम् । अमुमेव
हि ख्यातिवादं स्वकस्य सिद्धान्तस्य मूलं श्रीभट्टनगेशो मन्यते—योगिनः किल
सेश्वरास्साङ्ख्या एव; तदेभिरपि साङ्ख्यानानां सदसत्ख्यातिरेवापेक्षिष्यते साङ्ख्यत्व-
सामान्यादिति । न चेदृशीं योगिनां ख्यातिं सम्पाद्यैतावति तुष्यति; भगवत्पादीयां

१. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. २. २. १०.

२. भामती. २. २. १०.

३. वेदान्तकल्पतरुः. २. २. १०.

४. परिमलः २. २. १०.

सदसद्विलक्षणानिर्वचनीयख्यातिमप्यनयैकीकर्तुमभिलषति । न खलु ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु भगवत्पादभाष्ये वासौ नामास्माकं ख्यातिरिति विशिष्य नाम कृतमुपलक्ष्यते । तुल्यरूपेषु तन्त्रान्तरेषु सिद्धा सदसत्ख्यातिरेव त्वमीषामभीष्टेति गम्यते । प्रसिद्धं च न्यायविदोऽनुक्तमन्यतो गृह्णन्ति । कृतं वात्र सन्देहेन । “पञ्चवृत्तिर्मनोवद्व्यपदिश्यते”^१ इति सूत्रे कण्ठरवेण भगवत्पादा एतदनुमन्वते “परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवतीति न्यायादिहापि योगशास्त्रप्रसिद्धा मनसः पञ्च वृत्तयः परिगृह्यन्ते प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रास्मृतयो नाम” इति । स यदि विपर्ययो योगिनां सदसत्ख्यातिर्भवेत्, अवश्यमेषा प्राप्नोति वेदान्तवादिनामिति श्रीभट्टनागेशाभिप्रायः । एवंविधशिरोवेष्टनादिकृतसर्वानर्थमूलभूतस्यास्य वादस्य मूलत एवासाङ्ख्यत्वप्रतिपादनायास्माभिरिदं प्रथमं प्रकरणमारब्धम् । यथा चायं वादो न योगिनां, न वा वेदान्तवादिनामुपकरोति, तैः प्रतिषिद्धश्च तथाभ्यन्तरविषयपरीक्षणेन द्वितीये प्रकरणे निरूपयिष्यामः ॥

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA AND THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA, By Beni Prasad M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc., Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.

We acknowledge with great pleasure the receipt of these two valuable books from the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. The first of these contains a very interesting foreword by Prof. Keith. The author, in these two books, has given a conspectus of the history and the achievements of what was known in Ancient India as Artha Śāstra or, as it was often referred to, Daṇḍanīti. The exact meaning of the word "Artha-Śāstra" is not very clear especially in the light of modern conceptions. The word Daṇḍanīti, however, is more scientific and the vyutpatti given to the word in the Śānti-Parva of the Mahābhārata brings out a conception akin to that underlying the Austinian theory of sovereignty. The Artha Śāstra came to be very early recognised as a special branch of study *viz.*, as one of the four main kinds of knowledge enumerated by Kauṭilya or of the eighteen vidyās of later writers. It was also given a place as the chief item in the curricula of studies enjoined for a Kṣatriya Prince before he is called upon to assume the responsibility of the sovereign or of the Crown Prince. There is one danger which besets the path of the modern scholar and worker in this branch of study. The translation of the Sanskrit nomenclature of Artha Śāstra into modern political terms and phrases which have acquired a specific significance and therefore convey ideas which are the result of long experience and thorough and scientific application is apt to mislead us into thinking that all those ideas were clearly visualised by the ancient writers on Artha Śāstra. One is, however, happy to find that the author has steered clear of this and resisted the temptations of an intrepid patriotism, glorying in the thought that Ancient India had anticipated the modern conceptions of state and polity. Though an attempt has been made to give a scientific exposition of the Theory of state as described by the ancient writers on Artha Śāstra, still it must be confessed that the impression is left upon the reader's mind that the powerful, subtle, analytic and scientific intellect of Ancient Indian

thinkers with which we have been familiar in the other branches of ancient learning has not shone to its best advantage here and the treatment of the subject here descends to the level of the mere enumeration of practical tactics to be adopted in the art of Government and warfare extending even to puerile details.

Whatever this may be, the author has done full justice to the subject and conveyed to the western world a fairly accurate idea of the science of Government in Ancient India. We congratulate the Indian Press Ltd., on the neat printing and get-up of the two books.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE, By Prof. S. Radhakrishna, M.A.,
Published by George Allen Unwin Ltd., London.

This is a fine book published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London and is the outcome of the Upton lectures delivered by the Professor himself on the invitation and under the auspices of the University of Oxford. It is indeed, a succinct, brilliant, and masterly exposition to a Western audience of what the Hindu view of life and the fundamental spirit of the Hindu religion and philosophy are. In these lectures, the Professor's attempt is, in his own words "to indicate the central motives of the Hindu faith and show its way of approach to some of the pressing problems of the day". It may, no doubt, be that the reader, at the outset, is carried away by the force of the Professor's arresting and inimitable style and the effect of his trenchant and pregnant phrasology and is, therefore, apt to give ready acceptance to the author's conclusions and views. Still, unbiassed and calm reflection also will, in general, confirm the truth and justice of them. It must be recognised that anybody who approaches the present theme is confronted with difficulties of a varied and complicated nature. The period during which the Hindu thought and culture have been fashioned and moulded is so vast, the paucity of accurate historical material is so great and the confusion introduced by the imperfect investigations and observations of scholars of all sorts and by their broad generalizations sometimes biassed and often based only on bold speculative inferences from slender data is so bewildering, that anybody, however eminent he may be, must largely depend on our sympathy and charity of judgment as regards the success of his efforts. Amidst these conditions, to have presented a brief and

clear idea of Hinduism, its achievement and its outstanding features in bold outline and to have interpreted it in relation to the everpresent problems of the world in terms and aspects familiar to western thinkers is an achievement entitling the author to our admiration and lasting gratitude. He has tried successfully to remove the many misconceptions rampant in the world about the religion, culture and civilisation of the Hindus, to furnish the true explanation for the seeming contradictions and apparent injustices and to point to the true perspective of History. Though in some places the author has been affected by the prevalent tendency to generalize and draw large conclusions from slender and incorrect basis (vide the reference to Dakṣiṇāmūrti etc., in pages 39 and 40) still the main conclusions fairly rest on solid foundations. Everyone will be disposed to agree with the conclusions in his first lecture on religious experience "that Hinduism is not a definite, dogmatic creed, but a vast complex but subtly unified mass of spiritual thought and realization", or with the statements in his second lecture on 'The conflict of religions' that "In spite of the fact that Hinduism has no common creed and its worship no fixed form, it has bound together multitudinous sects and devotions into a common scheme" and that "that the Hindu solution of the problems of the conflict of religion is likely to be accepted in the future seems to be fairly certain". Nobody will quarrel either with the pithy statement in his third lecture "that Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought" and that "while it gives absolute liberty in the world of thought, it enjoins a strict code of practice". The author is at his best in the last chapter on Hindu Dharma wherein he explains the true meaning of caste, its justification in ancient India and contrasts it with the combative tendencies of the modern class organizations. He concludes thus "While caste has resulted in much evil, it has some sound principles underlying it". On the whole we may say without fear of contradiction that the Professor has succeeded in the short compass of these lectures in fully conveying to his hearers an accurate and clear idea of the theme he set to himself to expound.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS By Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL. M.

This little volume which is an Introduction to the "Sāhitya Darpaṇa", a popular work on Alaṅkāra Śāstra, is really a masterly and critical introduction to the study of the science of Sanskrit Poetics. The learned author has, in this volume, not only surveyed the whole range of the field of Sanskrit Śāhitya Śāstra, but also given a brief summary of the contents of all the important works on the subject. The origin, growth and development of the science are discussed in elaborate detail with due regard to chronology. The chief doctrines of the different schools are clearly elucidated, and learned criticisms offered on their respective merits. It is well known that differences are noticeable not only in fundamentals between the protagonists of the different schools, but even in respect of minute details in each system, and these are also clearly pointed out by the author. Special mention may be made of the learned discourses about the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and the criticisms of the *rasa*, *dhvani*, and the *Vakrōkti* theories, as revealing the author's wide research and critical acumen. It is possible that scholars may differ from the author in respect of a few of his views, but we have nothing but praise for this achievement of his. One special feature which enhances the utility of the work is the wealth of appropriate quotations from the Sanskrit texts, with their references. We heartily commend this little volume to students and scholars as it is calculated to rouse interest in a critical study of the science of Poetics and stimulate further research in this interesting branch of knowledge.

N. KUPPUSWAMI AIYAH.

A CORRECTION.

It is with great regret that I have to point out that a serious error has been allowed to creep in my article entitled 'The Vārtikas' published in the January issue of the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. II, Part I. On page 30, the following Sanskrit passage occurs:—L. 5. यतोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वत्वे स्थानिवत्त्वमतो भगवान्कात्यायनः ॥ प्रसारणिभ्यो ङं प्रोवाचेत्यर्थः

It should be printed thus:—यतोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वत्वे स्थानिवत्त्वमतो भगवान् कात्यः प्रसारणिभ्यो ङं प्रोवाचेत्यन्वयः ॥

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAN.

EDITORIAL.

We have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to an extract which will be found printed in Appendix to this volume and which appeared in the columns of "The New India" of June 17th. It is a short and interesting account of an adaptation on the stage at Melbourne in Australia of the "Shakuntala" of Kālidāsa. The actors of the Live Art Society of Melbourne may well be congratulated on their fine æsthetic sense and taste in selecting the appropriate tunes suited to the particular theme and in choosing the colours of the costume. They have set an example which may well be followed by the actors on the Indian stage.

We have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to the prospectus and rules of the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, recently started by leading scholars and lovers of Sanskrit in Madras. The idea of starting an Academy was suggested by Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar who is so well known for his culture, fine taste for art and drama and his love of Sanskrit. It is, indeed, an organisation which is bound to prove very useful in the near future.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.
INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

January, 1928.

1. *Progress of the collection of Manuscripts at the Dacca University (1926-1927).*—By N. K. Bhattasali, M. A. A number of manuscripts have been acquired for the Dacca University in 1926-1927. The manuscripts are given under different headings. The report wrongly mentions the Upaniṣads under the heading Dharmaśāstra.

2. *Sources for an account of the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb.*—By Hari Har Das, B. Litt.

3. *St. Thomas in South India.*—By Dr. P. St. Thomas, M.A.

4. *Notes on Currency and Coinage among the Burmese.*—By Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.

Supplement—The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī stabakas of Rāma śarman.—By Sir G.A. Grierson.

February, 1928.

1. *Folk songs of the Tuluvas.*—By B. A. Saletore, B.A., L.T., M. R. A. S.

2. *A possible identification of the mount Devagiri mentioned in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta,*—By A. S. Bhandarkar, B.A. The author identifies Devagiri with Devagurāḍa, about 6 miles south-east of Indore. The article is accompanied by two plates.

3. *Malabar Miscellancy V—A Rājasihma Inscription at Talekkāḍ in Cochin.*—By T. K. Joseph, B. A., L.T. Mr. Joseph edits this important inscription and gives a translation also. He seems to think that this Rājasihma belongs to 8-10th century. The article is accompanied by a plate.

4. *Rāwal Jaitrasihma of Mewar.*—By R. R. Halder. The author gives some account of this king who ruled between 1213-52 A. D.

5. *The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāmaśarman.*—By Sir G. A. Grierson.

March, 1928.

1. *Notes on currency and Coinage among the Burmese.*—By Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.

2. *Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh.*—By T. K. Joseph, B. A., L.T. These are two Christian Saints.

3. *Buddhist Women.*—By Dr. B. C. Law. Dr. Law gives some account of Buddhist women mentioned in the Buddhist Texts. They are:—

Abhirūpādanandā; Jentī or Jentā; Cittā; Sukhā; Setā; Sīhā; Sundarī; Nandā; Khemā; Aropamā; Rohiṇī; Subhā; Tissā; Sumedhā; Viśākhā; Arulā; Gopikā; Candā; Guttā; Vijayā; Cātā; Uppalavaṇṇā; Sumaṅgala mātā; Puṇṇā; Sundarī; Vimalā; Mittā-kālīka; Sakulā; Sonadiṇṇā; Alomā; Muttā; Puṇṇā; Dantikā; Vaḍḍhesī and Uttamā.

4. *Supplement.*—Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters.—By S. C. Hill.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

January, 1928.

1. *A preliminary note on the Hill Paṇḍārams of Travancore.*—By L. A. Krishna Aiyar, M.A., M.R.A.S.

2. *Harisa Sandeśa—A study.*—By K. Krishnamacharya, B.A., L.T. The author gives a critical appreciation of Vedānta Deśika's Harisa Sandeśa.

3. *Sūrya Prajñāpti.*—By Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B. A., Ph.D. This is a continuation from the previous numbers.

4. *Anthropometry of the Kanikars of Travancore.*—By L. A. Krishna Aiyar.

5. *Tamil kingdoms and their Government.*—By Pandit N. Chengalvarayan.—The author deals with the topography of the Tamil Country; its trade and commerce; the three Dynasties (*i.e.*) Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya; the social life, government etc., of those days.

6. *The Irikkal Kovilagam, Trichur.*—By A. Govindawariar, B.A., B.L.

7. *Studies in Bird Myths. No. XX.*—By S. C. Mitra, M.A.

MODERN REVIEW.

February, 1928.

Stupas oy Caityas.—By R. D. Banerji.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.
March, 1928.

Royal patrons of the University of Nālandā by Rev. J. Heras, M.A.

Found by Kumāragupta I as seen through the records of Huen Tsiang. The university was called, from the beginning of its existence, Nālandā (*i.e.*, charity without intermission).

Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta I built another Saṅghārāma.

Puragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu, vigorously practised the rules of his ancestors and built another Saṅghārāma. It was during the time of Narasimhagupta, a fervent disciple of Vasubandhu, perhaps for the first time that the university of Nālandā was destroyed. Kumāragupta II.

Harṣavandhana built a vihāra of brass in addition to one Saṅghārāma ;

The Maukharis : Pūrṇavarma : Bhāskaravarman : The articles is accompanied by a plan of the University.

2. *Revised notes on the Brahmin Empire.*—By Jayaswal.

3. *Weights and measures in Ancient India.*—By Banerji Sastri.

4. *Harappa and the Vedic Hariupia.*—By Binode Bihari Roy.

The modern Harappa is identified with Hariupia, on the side of the river Paruṣṇi (Ravi). Probably this city of Abhyavarti and Kavi was demolished by Indra coming to the help of the Aryan invader Sudās. The city of Hariupia was the seat of Aryan civilisation in the fifth Millenium B.C. and not non-Aryan according to Mr. Marshall and others.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
January ; 1928.

1. *Is the Nyāyapraveśa by Diñnāga.*—By Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. On the authority of Kwei-Chi and Shent'ai the disciples of Ywang Chwang, the author shows that Nyāyapraveśa and Nyāyadvāra (generally spoken of as Nyāyadvāratarka Śāstra) are two different books, of which only Nyāyamukha is the work of Diñnāga and that the Heturvidyā Nyāyapraveśa is by Bodhisattva Śaṅkarasvāmin.

2. *Temple and image worship in Hinduism by Farquhar.*—Temple and image worship grew up among śūdras and it was

thrown open to the three Aryan Castes about 400 B. C. and thereafter steadily climbed to its present supreme position.

3. *Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda*.—By C.W. Gurner.

4. *Amitraghāta*.—Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta whom the Greeks called Amitraghāta (अमित्रघात) (as seen in a work of Athenaeus the 3rd C. A. D.) should be Amitraghāta, which is one of the epithets of Indra.

5. *Date of the Subhāṣitāvali*.—By D. C. Bhaṭṭācārya. Disagreeing with Dr. De who is tempted to put in some of the verses as interpollations because of the incorporation of verses later than the 12th C., Bhāṭṭācārya shows that there was an earlier Vallabhadeva who composed a Subhāṣitāvali and only to this, Sarvānanda refers. He places the printed Subhāṣitāvali after Śrī Harṣa, since there is a reference to his Khaṇḍakhādyā.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

March, 1928.

1. *Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary*.—By Prof. M. Winternitz. The Professor discusses in this article the value of these works for historical purposes.

2. *The authorship of the Nyāyapraveśa*.—By A. B. Keith. Dr. Keith here tries to refute the arguments that tend to dispute Diṇnāga's authorship of the Nyāyapraveśa, thereby trying to prove Diṇnāga's authorship of that work. He regards Diṇnāga to have been older than Praśastapāda.

3. *Relation between Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi*.—By P. V. Bapat. The author regards Pāli as the oldest Prākṛt and the Ardhamāgadhi to be a later development.

4. *A Copper-plate charter of the Haihaya King Mahārāṇakaratnadeva II of the Cedi year 878*.—Edited by L. P. Pandeya. The plates are printed along with a Devanāgarī transliteration.

5. *Philosophy of Vasubandhu in Viṃśatikā and Trimśatikā*.—By S. N. Das Gupta.—The Viṃśatikā is a work of Vasubandhu and the Trimśatikā is a commentary thereon by Sthiramati. The author gives a short summary of the doctrine of Vijñānavāda contained in that work.

6. *Rāḍha or Ancient Gaṅgā Rāṣṭra. II*.—By Nundolal Dey. The author tries to identify Rāḍha Rāḍa Lāḍha Lāḍa Lāṭa, Lāla. The article is to be continued.

7. *Upaniṣadvrata*.—By Umesh Candra Bhattacharjee.
 8. *Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy*.—By Sukumar Ranjan Das.
 9. *Ranjit Singh's Civil Administration*.—By Narendra Krishna Sinha. The account given in this paper is based on the records in the Imperial Records Department.
 10. *Eastern India and Āryāvarta*.—By Haran Chandra Chakladar.
 11. *Town Planning and House Building in Ancient India according to Śilpa Śāstras*.—By K. Rangachari. This is a continuation from the previous issue.
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APPENDIX.

ŚAKUNTALA, Staged in Melbourne.

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline.

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed.

Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine ?

I name thee, O Śākuntala ! and all at once is said.

GOETHE.

Australian papers have given much prominence to the staging of Kālidāsa's great drama *Śākuntala* which had been chosen as the chief attraction for the Live Art Society's short season at the Playhouse, in Melbourne, in April. Here is *Table-Talk's* appreciation of the performance :—

The impressive production of the great Indian poem, "*Śākuntala*" in the effective translation made by Laurence Binyon, and the three Irish plays from the Abbey Theatre, at the Playhouse last week was an effort that deserved much bigger support than was given, for it was a very high artistic achievement, and something much above the average in attainment.

It was in *Śākuntala* that the big interest lay, for this was a stupendous effort for a society of young people, even though directed by one of artistic insight and experience like Mr. Howard Eadie. First of all, the fine translation of the sixteen-hundred-years old work of Kālidāsa by Laurence Binyon was a fine achievement. Then the saturation of the performers and the young musician Stewart Burton, in the spirit and atmosphere of the story and the beliefs of the time, to such an extent that they were enabled to positively live the characters, and in the case of Mr. Dudley, to interpret the spirit in musical composition was remarkable.

Never has more sincere, unaffected acting been seen in Melbourne than was given by every member of the cast in *Śākuntala*, even to the little child. There was no attempt at individual effect, each one was intent only to give the spirit of the character, and in every case, the delivery of the beautiful lines was impressive in its earnestness and absolute naturalness, and the enunciation was beautifully clear.

Stewart Dudley had—so those who have lived in India declare—by some miracle caught the spirit of India in his music,

in which he had used the Indian graduation of scale, which are three times as many as we employ. Like Wagner, he has a leading motif for each character running through, and the vocal solos introduced are weirdly quaint and thrilling—while naturally with such notation, some of the music strikes the ear with unusual and strange dissonances, there are parts of it that are warmly rich and beautiful in tone.

The biggest and culminating triumph was achieved by the luminous yellow of the Celestial charioteer's wonderful costume, which seemed almost dazzling in its luminosity. The stage settings were kept indeterminate and subdued, but were effective.

The whole production has left an ineffaceable impression upon those who were fortunate enough to see it. That such really wonderful effects could be attained by young aspirants without the aid of proper stage lighting effects, and with few stage conveniences and accessories is a notable attainment that arouses wonder in those who can realise the difficulties surmounted.

THE MUSIC.

The music of the play, though very interesting in itself, is to be judged as part of the whole production.

The overture opens with the King's love singing theme, given first in the low register of the orchestra. This is continued by the higher strings and wood wind to a climax, with a first hint of the curse motive. A bridge passage for strings and wood wind leads to Śakuntala's love-singing theme played by the violin; this works up to a repeat of the same given in the higher octave by the flutes and oboes. A tremolo passage for strings, with a further hint of the curse motive, is followed by the development of the King's theme working to a full climax of both the King's and Śakuntala's themes leading straight to the curse motive at full orchestral strength. A quiet passage for strings ending with a cadenza for the oboe is followed by the golden peak theme given by the flute in its highest register. The overture foreshadows the entire development of the drama: the sublimation of the earthly unstable love to the universally significant reunion at the mystic's retreat in the Himālaya Mountains. The incidents of the drama are limited in the use of the curse and other motives.

Before and during part four, an off-shoot of the Golden Peak theme will be heard, suggestive of the nymphs, who sing their farewell to Śakuntala

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The Sanskrit Academy, Madras.

PROSPECTUS.

The Academy was started by Sanskrit scholars and lovers of Sanskrit literature in November 1927.

OBJECT.

The main object of the Academy is the promotion and propagation of Sanskrit culture, through periodical meetings of Sanskrit pandits, lectures by eminent Sanskrit scholars, enactment of classical Sanskrit dramas, formation of a good Sanskrit library and through such other means.

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The Academy consists of three classes of members—

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The Academy has now more than 150 members on its rolls.

REVIEW OF WORK.

Under the auspices of the Academy Prof. Heinrich Leuders of the Berlin University delivered an interesting and illuminating lecture on "Sanskrit Drama" in November 1927.

The members of the Academy staged "Mr̥chakatika" twice during the Christmas week in 1927 in the Senate House, Madras, under the distinguished patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

Monthly gatherings of Sanskrit pandits are being regularly held.

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TOLKĀPPIYAM

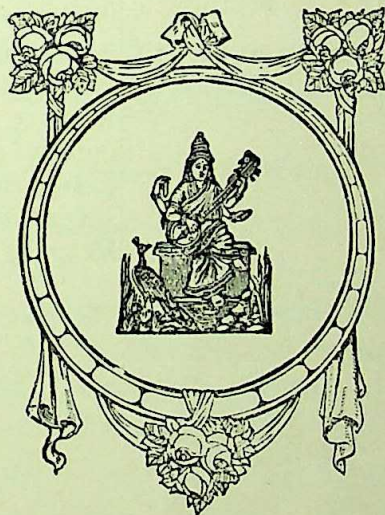
The earliest Extant Tamil Grammar

With a short commentary in English

BY

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*Professor of Oriental Studies, Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly
(on leave) and Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University
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Scheme of transliteration:—

அ = a	க = k	ல = l
ஆ = ā	ங = ṅ	வ = v
இ = i	ச = c	ழ = <u>ḷ</u>
ஈ = ī	ஞ = ṇ	ள = <u>ḷ</u>
உ = u	ட = ṭ	ற = <u>ṛ</u>
ஊ = ū	ண = ṇ	ன = <u>ṇ</u>
எ = e	த = t	குற்றியலிகரம் = <u>i</u>
ஏ = ē	ந = n	குற்றியலுகரம் = <u>u</u>
ஐ = ai	ப = p	ஃ = <u>ḥ</u>
ஒ = o	ம = m	மகரக்குறுக்கம் = <u>ṁ</u>
ஓ = ō	ய = y	
ஔ = au	ர = r	

This scheme is the same as that followed by the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras except for the last four ; k is used there for ஃ, but I prefer to have the same ஃ in transliteration also since the k may give a mistaken notion that it is a guttural sound while in fact it is guttural only when it is followed by the guttural etc. Its pronunciation is determined by the succeeding consonant. Refer to sūtra 38.

TOLKĀPPIYAM.

Eḷuttatikāram (Phonology)

1. Nūṇmarapu¹ (Ancient Terminology.)1. *Eḷuttenaṭṭaṭuṭa**Akaramuṭal**Nakara viṇuvāy muṭṭaṣṭeṇṭa**Cārntuvaran maraṇṇ mūṇṇalaṇ kaṭaiyē.*

The thirty (sounds) from a to ṇ except the three secondary ones are termed *Eḷuttu*.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest commentator on Tolkāppiyam and Nacciṇārkkīṇiar, another commentator on the same opine that this sūtra deals with the name, number and order of sounds. But Civañāṇamuṇivar in his Tolkāppiyamutaṛcūttiravirutti condemns their opinion and says that this sūtra deals only about the term *Eḷuttu*.

2. *Avaitām,**Kuṛṛiya likaram kuṛṛiya lukaram**Āytamenṇa**Muṭṭār pulḷiyu meluttō raṇṇa.*

They (secondary sounds) are *i*, *u* and *ḷ* which are represented by dots (in script).

Note.—Civañāṇamuṇivar takes muppārpulḷiyum to qualify all the three, viz., kuṛṛiyalikaram, kuṛṛiyalukaram and āytam. But Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiar take muppārpulḷiyum to qualify only āytam.

3. *Avarṇuḷ**a i u**E o enṇu maṭṭā laintum**Ōraḷa piṇaikkunṇ kuṛṛelut teṇṭa.*

Of them the five sounds a, i, u, e and o are called kuṛṛeluttu or short sounds and sound one aḷapu or mātrā each.

1. This chapter deals with the classification of sounds, contiguous consonants and the symbols for certain sounds.

4. *Ā ī ū*
Ē ai
Ō au eṇṇu mappā lēlum
Īraḷa picaikku netṭelut tenpa.

The seven ā, ī, ū, ē, ai, ō and au are called netṭeluttu or long sounds and sound two mātras each.

5. *mūvaḷa picaittal ōrelut tinrē.*

One eḷuttu never sounds three mātras.

Note.—Here eḷuttu must mean symbol and not sound, since āa is pronounced exactly in the same way as the pluta a in Sanskrit. Besides the word eḷūta in the following sūtra suggests it.

6. *Niṭṭam vēṇṭi navvaḷa puṭaiya*
Kūṭṭi eḷūta leṇmaṇār pulavar.

Learned men say that, to lengthen the sound, the symbol for the short vowel or symbols should be written close to that for the long vowel according to the quantity needed. Ex. āa, īi etc.

Note.—The expression 'eṇmaṇār pulavar' suggests that the author of this treatise is not the first grammarian in Tamil language.

7. *Kaṇṇimai noṭiyēṇa vavvē mātṭirai*
Nuṇṇiṭi muṇarntōṛ kaṇṭa vārē.

One mātrā is the time taken for one wink of the eyes or one snap of the fingers, according to the opinion of accurate grammarians.

8. *Aukāra viṇuvāyṭ-*
Pannī reluttu muyireṇa molīṭa.

The twelve (beginning with a and) ending with au are called uyir or vowels.

9. *Nakāra viṇuvāyṭ-*
Patīṇeṇ neluttu meyyēṇa molīṭa.

The eighteen (beginning with k and) ending with ṇ are called mey or consonants.

10. *meyyō ṭiyaiyinu muyiriyal tiriyā.*

The nature of vowels is not altered even when pronounced after consonants (i.e.) the quantity of ka, ca, ṭa, ta etc. is only one mātrā.

11. *Meyyi naḷavē yaraiyēṇa molīṭa.*

The quantity of a consonant is half a mātrā.

12. *Avviya ṇilaiyu mēnai mūnrē.*

The other three too (the secondary vowels) are of the same nature; (*i.e.*) the quantity of *i*, *ū* and *ṣ* is half a mātrā each.

13. *Araiyaḷaṇu kurukan makara mutaittē*
Icayīṭa ṇarukun teriyuṇ kālai.

The quantity of *m* is shortened to quarter of a mātrā when it follows some consonants. Ex. Pōṇṇi.

14. *Uṭṭeru ṭuḷḷi yuruvā kumṇē.*

Its symbol is that of *m* (ṃ) with a dot within.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar interpret this sūtra to mean that the symbol of *m* (ṃ) is that of *p* (ṡ) with a dot within. But since the 13th sūtra deals with *shortened m*, it is but proper to mention about *its* symbol and not that of *ordinary m*. But the meaning given by me in the Bishop Heber College magazine was supported by Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar in his article on Tolkāppiyaṇārum Puḷḷiyēḷuttukkaḷum published in Centamiḷ Vol. XXV, p. 165.

15. *Meyyi ṇiyarkai ṭuḷḷiyōṭu ṇilaiyal.*

The nature of the consonant symbol is that it is provided with a dot. *viz.*, *ṣ*, *ṭ* etc. for *k*, *c* etc.

16. *Ekara okarat tiyarkaiyu marrē.*

e and *o* also are of the same nature, (*i.e.*) the short *e* and the short *o* should be written as *ṇ* and *ṇ*.

Note.—In the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār *e*, *ē*, *o* & *ō* were written as *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ* & *ṇ*, while they are now written as *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ* & *ṇ*.

17. *Puḷḷi yillā vellā meyyu*

Muruvuru vāki yakaramō tuyirttalū

Mēṇai uyirō ṭuruvutirin tuyirttalū

Māyī riyala uyirtta lārē.

All consonant symbols without dots as *ṣ*, *ṇ*, *ṭ*, *ṭ* etc. represent consonant sounds followed by *a* and those for consonants followed by other vowels are different.

18. *meyyiṇ valiya tuyirtōṇṇu ṇilaiyē.*

Vowel follows a consonant in *uyir-mey* or consonant-vowels as *ka*, *ki*, *ku* etc.

19. *Valleḷut leṇṇa kacaṭa taṇara.*

K, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṛ* are called, *valleḷuttu* or hard or voiceless consonants.

20. *Mellelūt tenpa nāñāna namaṇa.*

ñ, ñ̄, ṇ, ṇ̄, m and ṇ̄ are called melleluttu or nasals.

21. *Itaiyelūt tenpa yarala valāḷa.*

y, r, l, v, ḷ and ḹ are called itaiyeluttu or semi-vowels.

22. *Ammū vāṛum valāñkiyaṇ maruñkiṇ
meymmayaṇ kuṭaṇilai teriyuṇ kālai.*

The above eighteen (consonants), when carefully examined in their usage, are followed by the same consonants or by different consonants and the former is called *uṭaṇilaimayakkam* and the latter *meymmayakkam*.

Note.—Nacciṇārkkīyaṇ interprets the sūtra to mean 'the above consonants when carefully examined, are followed by other consonants; or they being followed by vowels are followed by other consonants followed by vowels; the former is called *meymmayakkam* and the latter *uṭaṇilaimayakkam*. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation seems to be better.

23. *Ṭaralāḷa veṇṇum pulḷi muṇṇark
Kacaṇa veṇṇu mūvelūt turiya.*

Only k, c, and p can follow ṭ, ṛ, l and ḷ. Ex. kaṭka, kaṭci, kaṭpa; kaṛka, muyaṛci, kaṛpa; celka, valci, celpa; koḷka, Niḷciṇai and koḷpa.

24. *Avaṛṛuḷ
Laḷaḷkūṇ muṇṇar yavavun tōṇṛum.*

Y and v also can follow l and ḷ. Ex. kolyāṇai, celvam; velyāru and kaḷvaṇ.

25. *Nāñānaṇa maṇavenṇum pulḷi muṇṇart
Tatta micaika ḷottāṇa nilaiyē.*

ñ, ñ̄, ṇ, ṇ̄, m and ṇ̄ are followed by their corresponding voiceless consonants. Ex. kañkaṇ, kañcaṇ, kaṇṭaṇ, kantaṇ, kampaṇ and kaṇṇu.

26. *Avaṛṛuḷ
Ṇaṇaḷkūṇ muṇṇark
Kacaṇaṇa mayavav vēḷu muriya.*

K, c, ñ, p, m, y and v also can follow ṇ and ṇ̄. Ex. eṇku, veṇcāntu, veṇṇāṇ, paṇpu, veṇmai, maṇyāru, eṇvaṭṭu; puṇku, puṇcey, eṇṇāṇ, aṇpu, vaṇmai, iṇyāl, and puṇvaraku.

27. *Ṇanamava veṇṇum pulḷi muṇṇar
y ḷ kā nīrṛaṇ meyṇeṇ raṇṇē.*

Y also may follow ñ, n, m and v. Ex. uriñyātu, porunyātu, tirumyātu and tevyātu.

28. *Ma ॐ kām pullimun vavvun tōṇrum.*

V also can follow m.

Note :—Iḷampūraṇar gives nilam valitu as the example for this sūtra, while Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar says that, in his time, examples for this sūtra had died out.

29. *Yarala venṇum pulli muṇṇar*
Mutalā keluttu ṇakaramoṭu tōṇrum.

Y, r and l can be followed by those consonants which can stand as the initial member of a word (i.e.) k, t, n, p, m, c, v, ñ y and ṇ. Ex. āyka, ārka, ālka etc.; vēyññaṇam, vēṇñaṇam and vēlññaṇam.

Note :—Iḷampūraṇar gives vēykaṭitu, vērkaṭitu etc. as examples for this sūtra, while Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, vēyka, ārka etc. in their place and remarks that such examples as are given by Iḷampūraṇar are not suitable since each example is not a single word; but this remark does not seem to be quite satisfactory since this section deals only with the consonants that can possibly follow another consonant.

30. *Mēymilai cutṭi nellā veluttun*
Tammur rāmvārūm raḷavalaṇ kaṭaiyē.

All consonants except r and l can be followed by the same consonant. Ex. Kākkai, eññaṇam, paccai etc.

31. *A i u am mūṇruṇ cutṭu.*

Demonstratives are the three (sounds) a, i and u. Ex. avan, ivan and uvan.

32. *Ā ē ō am mūṇrum viṇā.*

Interrogatives are the three (sounds) ā, ē, ō. Ex. unkā, unke and unkō.

Note :—Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar add yā also to the above list; but it might have been omitted by Tolkāppiyāṇar since it is not a single sound. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar says that examples with the interrogative ā were very rare in his time.

33. *Aḷapīran tuyirttalū morricai nīṭalū*
Muḷaveṇa molīpa vicāiyōṭu civaṇiya
Narampin maraiya eñmaṇār ḷulavar.

Learned men say that the words and consonants have their quantity increased in music, vocal and instrumental.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar adds 'in vocative also'.

(Nūṇmarapu ends.)

2. Moḷimarapu.* (Wordology).

34. *Kurriya likara nirral vēṇṭum*
Yāveṇ cinaimicai uraiyacaik kiḷavik
Kāvayin varūṇum makara mūrntē.

ī stands after m and before yā in the īṭaiccol *miyā* used with a verb when a person is addressed. Ex. Kēṇmiyā, cēṇmiyā, etc.

35. *Puṇariya ṇilaiyīṭaik kuṛukalu murittē*
Yūṇarak kūṛiṇ muṇṇart tōṇṇum.

ī may also stand as the final member of the first of two words in sandhi; more about it is dealt with later on (*i.e.*) in *kuṛriyalukarappuṇariyal*. Ex. Nāku + yātu = Nākiyātu.

36. *Nettēlut timṇarun toṭarmoli yīṛruṇ*
Kurriya lukaram vallā rūrntē.

ū appears as the final member after a hard consonant in words having a long vowel before it (like *nāku*) or in *toṭarmoli*, (like *teṇku*, *varaku* etc.).

37. *Itaiṇṇaṇṇi kuṛuku miṭaṇṇumā ruṇṇē*
Kaṭappū ṭarinta puṇariya lāṇa

u is further shortened in sandhi and it is dealt with in *kuṛriyalukarappuṇariyal*. Ex. Cukkū + koṭu = Cukkūkoṭu.

38. *Kurriyatan munna rāyṭaṇ ṇuḷli*
Uyiroṭu puṇarntaval lāṇa micaittē.

ḷ is always preceded by a short vowel and followed by a hard consonant. Ex. Eḷ ku, kḷcu, kḷṭu, kḷtu, kḷpu and kḷru.

Note.—The nature of ḷ is similar to that of Jihvāmūliya in Sanskrit as in Kaḥ-karōti (क-करोति) if it precedes a guttural and Upadhmāniya as in Sanskrit kaḥ-paṭhati (क-पठति) if it precedes a labial (*i.e.*) its organ of articulation is determined by the succeeding consonant. Air is allowed to pass till the place of articulation of the succeeding consonant and suddenly arrested. Since it is not an open sound inasmuch as it is invariably preceded by a short vowel, it cannot be classified as a vowel; neither is it a consonant since it cannot be followed by a vowel.

* This chapter deals with the secondary sounds since they are not found as independent entities outside words, the consonants that can stand as the initial member of a word and those as the final member.

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A CRITICAL EDITION
OF
THE DHVANYĀLOKA
OF
ĀNANDAVARDHANA
WITH
THE LOCANA OF ABHINAVAGUPTA
AND
THE KAUMUDĪ OF UTTUNGODAYA

EDITED BY

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and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*

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THE NEED FOR A NEW DARŚANA.¹

BY

S. V. RAMAMURTI, ESQ., M. A., I. C. S.,
COLLECTOR OF MADRAS.

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THE NEED FOR A NEW DARŚANA.¹

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It is symbolical of the position of Sanskrit learning in this country that this Sanskrit College which is one of the premier Sanskrit Colleges in the Presidency should be hidden in Mylapore. Not for it the proud places occupied by the Presidency College on the pleasant Marina or the Christian College in the centre of busy Georgetown or the Loyola College in its deep seclusion. The eyes of the public are turned to the colleges with European learning. It is at their doors eager applicants knock for entry. It is of them they think when they want the knowledge which gives practical power or when they think of up-to-date culture. Sanskrit like the Sanskrit college is relegated to a corner, dependant on the graciousness of one or two enthusiasts, thankful to keep its door open for stragglers who often go to it for want of a better asylum.

And yet, Sanskrit like a deposed queen had her days of power and glory. When India was for a couple of thousand years the acknowledged mistress of Asiatic civilisation, Sanskrit was the vehicle of high culture. It showed how to live a life of beauty and comfort. It was the guardian of the path to the Gods. But now it is hidden in Mylapore, Kalladakurichi, Tiruvadi and other places outside the highway of modern Indian life. What is wrong with Sanskrit learning that it is unable to supply part at least of the motive power of our life?

It is not that life in India is stagnant. Great changes have taken place in India in the course of a century. Even those of us who remember our grandfathers can see how differently we live from them. Our food, our houses, our dress, our methods of travel, our enjoyment of pleasures, our lines of thought, our ideals have all changed rapidly. But in all these changes the

1. A lecture delivered on the occasion of the anniversary of the Madras Sanskrit College.

motive power is not ours. It comes from European thought and life. The machinery through which these changes have been introduced are partly our schools and colleges and partly our political institutions. England could only give to us from her own store-house of education, law and democracy. It was for us to absorb what she gave us into our own blood. But we insist on carrying it on our backs. And the more we receive, the more are our backs bent. Not to absorb the good we receive is doubly wrong—we do not add to our energy and we add to our burden. European knowledge and experience has not increased India's energy and initiative because it has not been absorbed by India into her own life. The result then is that a country which, for centuries, showed abundant evidence of initiative, of leadership, of creative power is now occupying the place of a camp follower in the army of nations. Japan to whom India gave through Buddhism not only religion but also science, art and philosophy has left India far behind her. By borrowing the science and democracy of Europe and by a real conversion of heart under the guidance of her new teacher, Japan has been recognised as a great power. China which is as massive as India, whose people have a vision of life as gorgeous as that of India, is fast finding her political and spiritual freedom. Turkey under the influence of the youngest of religions has been converted to European ways and it occupies to-day a mightier place than India in the political world. Why is India with her glorious knowledge and life of which Sanskrit tells us left behind as a land of stagnation or of compulsory motion? Why has she lost the joy of voluntary creation?

And yet, strangely enough, this India fallen so low in status and energy, is yet seen by far seeing men as the source wherefrom a new vision of life may arise to save the world. Life in Europe has ended in blind alleys. Science is destroying even more than it is creating. Power is outrunning morality. The balance of life is tottering. Europe proud for four centuries of her gorgeous erection of science found it a place not of life but of death. Therefore it is looking back to Asia for lessons in the way of a balanced and fruitful life.

Apart from the recent catastrophe in Europe, it has been recognised by sensible men that the way to truth cannot be a monopoly of Europe or of Asia, that the visions of truth of all honest men are parts of the truth. A synthesis of the East and

the West has long been dreamt of. From the side of Europe the main contribution is science. What is it from the side of Asia? All great religions have had their birth in Asia. But religion centres round God and God is ignored by science. Where is the common meeting place of religion and science?

The obvious reply that we may give is that they meet in Philosophy. Of all countries in Asia, it is India that has systematised philosophy. It has however happened that Indian philosophy has been dominated by Vedānta which asserts the oneness of the soul and the outer universe of physics and psychology and calls this oneness Brahman—an entity without qualities. In asserting the reality of Brahman and the unseen soul nearest to it, it has emphasised the comparative unreality of the outer world of matter and mind and called it *māyā*. Vedānta, therefore, is felt to be as much apart from science as religion is. Philosophy which is the bridge between Science and Religion fails to function when as in Vedānta it is obviously partial to religion. If Europe with her large body of hard physical facts has to gain anything from India for the purpose of enabling her to build a better life on her science than she is now able to, the belief is expressed that the philosophy of India, speculative and concerned with an imperceptible soul, cannot help. It seems to me that the predominance of Vedānta in Indian philosophy has been a barrier to the synthesis of the East and the West. Vedānta is too far ahead of the bases of Western science for the latter to find union with Indian philosophy in the neighbourhood of Vedānta.

Indian philosophy however does not consist only of Vedānta which is one of six great Darśanas or systems of thought. Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems analyse the universe into atoms, souls and God. Mind is regarded as a relation between soul and atoms. Nyāya studies this relationship called mind and its main achievement is a science of logic. Vaiśeṣika studies the world of atoms and yields physics—as much physics, that is to say, as the world had 2000 years ago. The Sāṅkhya system did not regard mind as a relation between the soul and the atoms but threw mind along with atoms into a Prakṛti subject to evolution. In addition to Prakṛti, there were Puruṣas or souls; God was added for the sake of fashion. Yoga makes the same analysis but it is concerned with Puruṣa gaining control over Prakṛti instead of seeking isolation from it through a process of non-co-operation.

Next came the two Mīmāṃsās. In addition to atoms and souls, Pūrva Mīmāṃsā recognises deities rather than God. Uttara Mīmāṃsā regards God as the basic unity not only of souls but also of atoms and of mind.

The evolution of these systems is interesting. In Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika the objective world consists of atoms *i.e.* of matter. In Sāṅkhya and Yoga, the objective world consists of mind and matter. In Vedānta the subject and object get unified and the world is the basis underlying soul, mind and matter. Of the six great darśanas, God is a necessary part of the scheme only in the last, Vedānta. In the others, God is not needed. He is often ignored. When recognised, He is recognised for fashion. If therefore Indian philosophy is regarded as the body of the six systems, it is a philosophy as much of the objective world as of the subjective world, as much of science as of religion—the science too not merely of physics but also of psychology. In such an evolutionary scheme of Indian Philosophy, European science can readily find its level. European materialism has its counterpart in Indian philosophy. The normal, present day, common sense notion of an independent outer world of three dimensional matter has its counterpart in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. Has Europe got a counterpart of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga idea of the world outside the soul being made up not only of matter but also of mind? I believe that it has and that the fourth dimensional world of Relativity approximates to the Prakṛti of Sāṅkhya in which there are not only gross bodies but also subtle bodies which do not die with the gross bodies. If gross bodies function in a three-dimensional space, what are the dimensions of the world in which subtle bodies function? Can the Yogic power of becoming unseen, of seeing at a distance, of motion from place to place along a direction not physically observable be due to the power to function in a four-dimensional world? Can the soul which is posited by psychical research be the subtle body of Sāṅkhya and can the world of the souls of psychical research be a fourth dimensional world? These are interesting points of contact between the Prakṛti of Sāṅkhya and the Space-Time of relativity. It is my belief that the Space-Time of relativity contains not only space and time and matter but also mind. Indeed if Space-Time is the absolute, it is bound to contain mind which is as real as matter whatever be the nature of the soul.

European science has not yet reached any position corresponding to Vedānta. Whether it will in future, we do not know. But there is no reason why it should not. Meanwhile, a synthesis of European and Indian thought must be through finding the level in Indian philosophy which European science has now reached. It seems likely that this level is approximately that of Sāṅkhya-Yoga. At the same time any attempt at synthesis must try to draw this level towards that of Vedānta. If science and Indian philosophy are to be synthesised, there is indeed a need for the creation of a new darśana.

A darśana is a systematisation of all experience. Since the formulation of the six great darśanas, there has not been till the age of science any large incursion of new facts of experience. It was enough therefore for philosophy to make mild revisions of itself. But now, Science has opened a new flood of knowledge. Indian philosophy must find its adjustment with this knowledge or go under. So far, it has not attempted to make such adjustments. But at the same time, it has not gone under. There is indeed no need for it to go under. Philosophy is by itself a method of apprehending experience. The substance of what is experienced is accidental. If a nation develops the philosophic spirit and gets the philosophic training, it is fit to deal with all kinds and facts of experience. When a person has developed teeth to eat fruit, he can also eat rice and even meat. If India could philosophise till a few centuries ago, she has the seed within her which can sprout again into a new system of philosophy when irrigated and manured by the fresh experience of Science. India, if any nation, has the capacity to create a new darśana.

In such a creation, the Sanskritist has to play an important part. The European scientist does not study Indian philosophy and Indian philosophers do not study European science. This is partly due to both Sanskritic lore and scientific literature being vast. One man can hardly find time to study both. Yet the world must find men who can do so, men to whom scholarship is life. Sanskritists like scientists are specialists. The studies of both are valuable and indispensable but neither of them by itself can create fresh life. It seems to me there is a need to make a course of Indian philosophy compulsory for all cultured Indians just as it is sought to make a study of one's mother tongue compulsory for all educated men. The great truths and

general scheme of philosophy are simple. It is not difficult to learn them. With such a knowledge Indians who study science may be able to relate philosophy and science. When many men do this, there is a chance for one man with creative genius to evolve a new system of thought which shall synthesise the East and the West. May this Sanskrit College help in however humble a measure in the creation of that new Darśana !

“YESTERDAY”, “TODAY” AND “TO-MORROW” IN DRAVIDIAN

BY

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The words for “yesterday” “today” and “to-morrow” in Dravidian dialects may be classified as hereunder:

		“Yesterday”	“today”	“to-morrow”
Tamil	...	nētru	inrai	nālai
Telugu	...	ninne	nēdu	elli or rēpu
Kannaḍa	...	ninne	īga	nāle
Malayālam	...	innale	innu	nāle
Tuḷu	...	kōḍe [dina]	ini	elli
Kui	...	Reesi	neenju	wie
Kuvi	...	Reeni	ninju	wie
Kurukh	...	cēro	inna	nela
Brāhūī	...	dero	aino	ēlō (cf. ēlōḍe
Gōṇḍi	...	ninne	nēḍa	nāri not
			or	to-morrow)
			neḍu	

ROOTS

el aḷ ēḍ ēr

el with the varieties—appears in Kanarese, Tuḷu, Gōṇḍi, Kurukh, Tamil, Kui, Malayālam and Brāhūī.

el, al or aḷ with its varieties,—appears in Tamil, Malayālam, Kurukh etc.

ēḍ ” ” Telugu, Kui, Kuvi, Gōṇḍi etc.

ēr ” ” Kurukh, Brāhūī, Tamil,
Gōṇḍi, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh etc.

Is eḍu or ēḍu related to geḍu or keṭu occurring in South Dravidian? If it is, then g should either be traced to an intermediate c < cy < y < y, the prothetic on-glide; or it may be due to analogy with the k of Kāl (time) etc.

In many languages the words denoting time, which in origin should have been undoubtedly primitive, are closely related to, and probably derived from, "local" roots or roots denoting spaces. Dravidian shows this clearly. The roots denoting time in Dravidian are *el*, *eḷ* (a variant of *er*) *el* and *āl* ... (with its variant *nāl*) all of which denote, or are closely connected with, ideas of place. It is probable that all these roots are related to one another also. From these roots have arisen certain forms in accordance with Dravidian phonetic laws :

ēḷ — Telugu *ēḍu* (time or year) and Gōṇḍi *ēt* (year) as in the phrase *yēt ēta* (year by year).

ēḷ > *yēṇḍ* > *yēṇḍu* > *yāṇḍu* which occurs in Tamil and means year or time.

ēr > (n) *ēr* with intrusive *n* on the analogy of *īr* (water) and *nīr*, together with the Tamil ending—*am*, appears in Tamil as *n ē r a m* (time).

ēr > *nēr* > *nændr* — Tamil *ñændru* (time).

aḷ (meaning distance) alternating with *naḷ* on the common analogy in Dravidian of *īr* and *nīr*, has given rise to *nāl*, with the derivative lengthening of the root vowel ; cf. *paḷ* (to break) and *pāl* (branch); *kaḷ* and *kāḷ*; *viḷ* and *vīḍu* etc.

el > *yel* > *yel* > *jel* in Gōṇḍi *jeli* (time).

el > *nel* (with intrusive *n* as shown above) in Gōṇḍi *nel* (month).

It will be found that the Dravidian forms for "yesterday", "today" and "tomorrow" given above are traceable to one or other of these elementary Dravidian roots. The particular conception of time-distinction as between "today", "yesterday" and "tomorrow" is more or less conventional¹ and hence it will not at all be surprising to find that the same form is used with different time-significations in different dialects; the same dialect, however, observes careful distinction of forms in regard to "today", "tomorrow" and "yesterday".

1. Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kannaḍa have given the signification "tomorrow" to *nāl* in *nālei*, *nāḷe* & *nāḷe* by the side of the general sense "day." The ultimate source-root is *al* or *aḷ*

1. Compare the use of *morrow* in English (in "good morrow," "on the morrow" and "to-morrow") with German *morgen* (morning.)

which appears as *nāl* also (cf. Tamil *aḷavu* and *naḷavu measure-ment*).

2. Tamil *indr* (ei) < i (ē) *ndr* < *iēr* (this time).

The common explanation of *indr* (ei) from *i + nāl* is unsupportable on phonetic grounds. The presence of the proximate demonstrative which confers the distinctive meaning of "today" is indisputable. Old Dravidian *r*, doubled or emphasised, gives *tt r* which, through voicing, becomes *d r*. (*Vide* my paper on Dravidian alveolar *t*) The intrusive spontaneous nasal, a common characteristic of Tamil in connection with *dr*, cf. *mūndru*) is found here. *indru* therefore, should ultimately be traced to the root *ēr*, connected with *nēram* as shown above.

(3) The Tamil form for "yesterday" *nētt(u)* is from *nir + ēr*, *nir* denoting the idea of completion (cf. *nirei* to fill).

nir + er > *nērr* > *nettr*, the abveolar *tt* always cropping up in connection with Tamil double *r*. (cf. *ttr* of the causal verb *kayattru* from *kayaru*).

Kittel's explanation that *nēttu* is from *nir + nāl* cannot be supported, as neither the disappearance of medial *rn* nor the production of *ttr* could be accounted for on a satisfactory basis according to this theory.

(4) Telegu *nēḍu* is derived from *ēḍ* (time) with a prosthetic nasal; the Telegu *d* often represents an original *r* and so probably *ēḍ* itself goes back to an older *ēr*. Gōṇḍi has the same form for *to-day* but the cerebralised value of *ḍ* is lost : *nēdu*.

(5) Telegu and Kannada *ninne* for *yesterday* is from *nir + nēr* ; the dropping of the final *r* of *nēr* and the regressive assimilation exercised by *n*, gave rise to *ninne*.

(6) Telegu *rēpu* or *rēpu* (to-morrow) is connected with *reya* (night) which, with *pu*, the noun affix (< *vu* < *vi* < *vei*) has conventionally come to mean *to-morrow* or *morning*.

(7) Telegu *elli* is obviously from *el* (time), with the conventional signification of *to-morrow* attached to it.

(8) Kannada *īga* has a unique history. *ga* here is from *gadu* (time) which is related to the root *kal* or *gal* or *kaḷ* (in Tamil) the original signification of which is *that which passes hence time*. (cf. *gaḍu* (time), *kaḷi* (to be finished) etc.)

(9) Malayālam *innu* (to-day) is of course from Tamil *indrei* on the general principle which converts Tamil *ndr* into *nd* and

then into nn in Malayāḷam. Cf. *pandri* > (Malayāḷam) *panṇi* (pig); *nandru* > *nanṇu* etc.

(10) As for Malayāḷam *innale* (yesterday), the usual explanation that readily suggests itself is that *innu* (to-day) was combined with *el* (time) and the combination was conventionally accepted to mean "yesterday". This is hardly convincing.

A more plausible explanation is :

innel < *irunn* + *el* i.e., past time, therefore *yesterday*. The final vowel *e* in Malayāḷam is purely a supporting vowel.

Innele in Malayāḷam has nothing to do with *innal* (the other day) which is composed of *inna* & *nāl*.

(11) Tuḷu *kōḍe*[*dina*] (yesterday) gets the special meaning from *kōḍe* (< *kūḍ*, to join).

(12) Tuḷu *ini* (to-day) is really the reduced form *inēr* or *inēl* the *r* or *l* having dropped off and the vowel of the syllable having turned to *i* in the unstressed position.

(13) Tuḷu *yellanji* (day after to-morrow) combines *el* and *adru* or *ēdru* which is from *ēr*, and then the signification of *day after to-morrow* is given to it.

(14) Kui forms are the results of considerable change. Analogy too seems to have played some part. The Kui form for "today" *neenju* is from *nēr* or *nendr*; the change of *dr* to *j* is quite characteristic of Kui (cf. *āru* > *āju* or *āji*; *mūru* > *mūji* etc.).

Kuvi has a similar form *nīnju*.

In Kui *nie* (now), the time-sense of the present is shown by *i* + *e* < *i* (proximate demonstrative) + *el* (time); the *n* is due to analogy from the word for *to-day*, *neenju*.

Gōṇḍe *inje* (now) < *indre* < *iēndr* < *iēdr* < *iēr*.

Kui *wie* (to-morrow) marks out a contrariety from *nie* through the prefix *vi* it is composed of *ie* together with the prefix *vi* which has a future meaning in Dravidian (cf. the future endings of Dravidian verbs and, further, compare Brahui *va* (back or again) which contains the idea of futurity).

Kui *reesi* (yesterday) is to be traced to *re* + *ēru* (past time); *s* is the palatalised form of *d* or *t* *indr* or *tr*, and *re* (second) gives the idea of past time (second from the present to the past). For the special significance of *re*, compare Kui *rāṇḍu* < *re* + *āṇḍu* (last year).

In Kui ni came to have the specialised signification of the present, and re came to have the idea of the past as in raṇḍu (last year). Compare the prefix ron in ronisi (one day) which established beyond a doubt that re in reesi is a parallel formation with re meaning *second*.

(15) Kurukh nele (to-morrow, nēr (<er) with the conventional idea of future time attached to it. That nēla meant originally only *time* is clear from the Kurukh from innēla which means *these days* or *this time*. Kurukh śan (year) <yan <(dru) <ar <er Kurukh idnā (this year) = id (demonstri.) + nā (!) (time).

(16) In Gōṇḍi, nel took another turn in meaning, *month*. Goṇḍi inga (now) is cognate with kannaḍa īga; adra (then) <a+er; isare (just now) <i + (y) + er; yēṇḍ (this year is cognate with yāṇḍ (<older ēḍ).

The most primitive signification of ēr (that which passes and hence time) is retained in Kurukh śēro (yesterday).

śēro <śyēro <yēr <yēr <ēr (time). Kurukh inna (to-day) is from in (prox. demonstrative) + nāl; nāl occurs in Kurukh combinations like huināl (three days hence) etc. The Kurukh word for day is ulla which evidently is a modification of ul or el (cf. ulle ulle, daily; iklam, which day etc.)

(17) Brāhūī initial d stands for primitive Dravidian continuative prosthetic on-glide y in words like dēr (who) from yār etc.

Brāhūī dero is therefore to be traced to yēr or ēr (time). Like Kurukh which it resembles in many respects, this form has the meaning of *yesterday*. Brāhūī der has the meaning of "time" in the combination va-derai (late).

Brāhūī ena or aino (to-day) is from ināl or inel. ain(o) <ein <iin <inel.

The root el (time) exists in Brāhūī in the form ēloḍe (not to-morrow) which means *the day after to-morrow*.

THE TAĻI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COCHIN STATE AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

BY

A. GOVINDA WARIAR, B.A., B.L., ERNAKULAM.

INTRODUCTORY.

The TaĻi inscriptions in the TalappiĻli Taluk, Cochin State, are important in many respects, and a study of them will be of considerable interest from different points of view.¹

The records under reference are inscribed on different slabs in the 'Vāṭalmāḍam' of the Śiva temple at TaĻi,² four miles west of Cheruvirutti on the Shoranur-Cochin branch of the South Indian Railway. About 2 miles south-west of Cheruvirutti, on the road to TaĻi, is situated the once famous village of Neḍumpura, which gave the name of Neḍumpuraiyūrñāḍu³ to the country around it. This appears to have included the major portion of the TalappiĻli Taluk and to have extended up to the borders of Pālghāt.

I.—*Historical Importance.*

These inscriptions mention the names of such monarchs as Kōḍai Ravi, Indēśvaran Kōḍai and Bhāskara Ravi and of a king, Yākō-Iraiyar, a prince entirely new alike to South Indian epigraphy and history. These records may afford us a fair idea as to the extent of the sway exercised by these potentates, especially

1. *Vide* Nos. 341—348 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, 1924—*Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-5. The materials relied on in this paper are based to some extent on the Tamil transcripts of these inscriptions kindly furnished to me by the Archaeological Assistant to the Epigraphist, Southern Circle.

2. *Vide* Page 255 of Sewell's *List of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I.

3. This is identified by Dr. Hultzsch, the late Government Epigraphist with Pālghāt, in his edition of the Jews plate (Vol. III, page 68 of *Epigraphia Indica*) and with Puṛaigilanāḍu of the Tirunelli grant. (*Vide* pages 285—292, Vol. XX, *Indian Antiquary*.)

when we note that some of these names repeat themselves in the *Travancore Archaeological Series and Reports*. Recurring as they do with such persistence and in such distant and scattered places like the suburbs of Chaṅganāśśēri in North Travancore and Tirunelli in the mountainous Wynaad plateaux of North Malabar, they may be considered as important links in the chain of evidence which may establish that the All-Kēraḷa Empire of the Cērās or the Cēramān Perumāls was more or less a reality and the favourite theme of a patriotic and well-meaning but uncritical prosperity.

None of the Cochin inscriptions hitherto published, refer to any Cēra King (the famous Jews and Kōṭṭayam plates excepted). Hence these epigraphs, considered along with others of Indu Kōḍai in the Maṇappuṇam Temple and in Puducōḍeī, of Kōḍai Iravi from Tṛpparaṅgōḍu and in the Chōkūr temple in Puttūr *amśam*² in Poṇṇāni Taluk, and of Śrī Vāla Rāmar from Tiruvaṇṇūr³—all in South Malabar—from a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of the Imperial Cēra Dynasty.

They bring to light the name of a king hitherto quite unknown in the annals of Kēraḷa. It is yet a point for careful and minute investigation whether the name *Yākō-Iraiyar*⁴ is a misreading for *Kō-Irāmar* (King Rāma)—and if so, whether he can be identified with Kō Śrī Vāla Rāmar or the Kēraḷa⁵ king panegyrised in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*⁶ of Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭatiri or the Rāma Tiruvaḍi of the Quilon record.⁷ It would also be a fruitful line of inquiry to see whether the word can be read as *Kō-Iravi*—as the Madras Epigraphical Department are inclined to believe—and, if so, whether it refers merely to a King known as Ravi, and whether any of the Ravis mentioned in the Nāmakkal

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1. *Annual Report*, Nos. 12 of 1901, and 354 of 1924, Madras.
 2. A. R. Nos. 219 of 1895 and 13 of 1901, Madras.
 3. A. R. No. 220 of 1895, Madras.
 4. The Tamil transcript reads "*Yā-Kō-Iraiyar*."
 5. *The Travancore State Manual* by Mr. V. Nagamayya, Vol. III, page 427.
 6. *The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, Part I, pages 40—46.
 7. The third plate discovered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., cf., *Epigraphical Report*, Madras, 1906, page 74, para 31.

plates of Vīra cōla¹ is the same monarch. Again, it might be interesting to see whether it is but a contraction for Kōdai Ravi, Bhāskara Ravi, or Ravi Rāma.

The importance of inscriptions Nos. 343 and 344 of 1924 consists mainly in the fact that they enable us to fix approximately the date of King Kōdai Ravi, which was not possible before, though inscriptions of his reign have been found in Malabar and Cochin, if not, in Travancore. No. 344 is dated in his 17th year, Jupiter being in Mithuna. No. 343, though registered separately, seems to be a continuation of the above, despite the fact that some of the words at the beginning (of No. 343) appear to be unintelligible as they stand, due to the difficulty of deciphering. It yields us an important clue, ending as it does with the conclusive and definite statement that it was written in the Kali year 4,030 (or 929 A. D.); which would give 912 A. D. as the year of Kōdai Ravi's accession; and if he is the Kōdai Ravi of the Trppūnittura inscription, he must have continued to reign till 942 A. D., as it is dated in his 30th regnal year.² From this it would appear that he was lord of much of the country now comprised in South Malabar and Cochin.

Even of the kings known to epigraphy, the published inscriptions of Indu Kōdai Varman and Bhāskara Ravi Varman are rare in South Malabar and Cochin. Hence the discovery of Inscription No. 341 belonging to the 17th year of King Indu Kōdai (Kō-Indēśvaran Kōdai) when Jupiter was in *Kaṇṇi rāśi*, is a valuable addition to our limited stock of information about him. It is noteworthy that, till now, his latest regnal year met with in inscriptions is only 16³ which has been calculated to correspond to 971 A. D.

The Bhāskara Ravi record (No. 348) dated in the 13th year of his reign (Jupiter being in Tulā) is the second inscription of that king found in the Cochin State, the other being the Jews

1. These doubts can be cleared for all time, if the transcripts are published with the plates, which, I believe, it will take a pretty long time as the Epigraphical Department has only just published inscriptions unearthed 25 or 30 years ago.

2. *Vide the Cochin State Manual* by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, B A., page 40. It has also been copied by the Madras and Travancore Archaeological Departments.

3. *Vide Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, page 114.

deed. It is indeed a far cry from Tirunelli to Cochin Town and to Travancore, and Taḻi lies between these places. The existence of such a relic of Bhāskara Ravi Varman's reign *may* go to weaken the case for the duplication of Bhāskara Ravīs.

Thus it will be admitted that, in view of the entire absence of any settled Cēra chronology—except for what can be gathered from the Nāmakkal plates of Vira cōḷa, the names in which have yet to be identified—these epigraphs would prove to be very helpful in the reconstruction of early Kēraḷa history.

II. Constitutional Importance.

Apart from their value from the view-point of political history, the Taḻi inscriptions—in spite of their relating to matters of temple routine—are of considerable significance constitutionally, *i. e.*, when viewed as a chapter in the history of local and representative government in ancient Kēraḷa, the temple being the centre and source of the corporate activities of the district.

The residents of the 18 districts of Nityavicārēśvaram (*the paṭinetṭunāṭṭār*) and the manager (*Taḻi or Taḻiyālvān, Taḻiyūra-van or Taḻiyār*¹ and officers (*the Taḻiyadhikārar or adhi-kā-rigal*) of the pagoda as well as the *Paṭanāyar* or commander of district called Neḍumpuṛayūrnāḍ constituted the Nityavicārēśvaram assembly. It met in the premises of the temple under the presidency of the *Paṭanāyar*, an officer who, in the present case, was different from the *nāḍuvāli* or ruler of the district. Further researches may reveal the distinctive appellation applied to this institution, the methods of filling up of the places of the *nāṭṭār* and other cognate matters.

The *Taḻiyālvān* was a subordinate officer appointed and removable perhaps by the assembly and accountable to it, as will be noticed from the fact that the meetings were presided over by his superiors.

1. *Vide* pages 202 and 203, Vol. III, T. A. S., pages 144—5, Vol. IV *Ibid.* The temple itself was named "Tāḻi" as in the case of the Kōṭṭayam Kadatturutti temples (Cf. Verses 11 and 31 of *Uttara Sandeśam* of *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, a poem of the 14th century A. D.), the Trkkula-ēṭṭharapuram (cf. Ins. No. 225 of 1895, Madras) Chingapuram, Kittolli (Kiltali) and Calicut shrines of the same name. "*Taḻiyālvān*" is a compound of "*taḻi*" a temple and "*ālvān*," a ruler, the word "*taḻi*" being derived from the Sanskrit "*sthalī*."

The *Adhikārigal* (or *Taḷyadhikārar*) seem to have included the *tālparri* or *tālvuparri* and the *poduvāls* especially the *akap-p-poduvāls*. Of these, the *tālvuparri* has not been met with in inscriptions, tradition or literature. It is also not possible to define his duties. The *poduvāls*, who were officials connected with almost all temples of Kēraḷa, were in charge of charitable endowments and occasionally, as in Ayirūr and Mūlikkaḷam, put in charge of the management of the temple. They attended to the collection of the income, expenses of the deity for a settled remuneration in paddy or rice, raw or cooked. These records mention two orders of *poduvāls*, the *akappoduvāls* and *purappoduvāls* (or merely *poduvāls*) which have developed into sub-castes, called respectively *Mūttatūs* (thread wearing) and the ordinary *Poduvāls* (of the *Ambalavāsī* caste).

The official of *Sēnāpati* entrusted with the military administration of Neḍumpurayūrnāḍu was, no doubt, subordinate to the *nāduvāli* of the same district, and was the president of the assembly or *kūṭṭam* of the *nāḍu*. In his absence, his place was taken by the *nāḍuvāli*, as in the case of the Kōdai Ravi record when Kōdai Ravi of Venpolināḍ was in temporary charge of the district. The office of the *Paṭanāyar* may have been generally hereditary but not irremovable. (In the inscriptions of Yā-kō-Irāyar, for instance, we find Kumaran Kumarādiccan figuring under successive *nāḍuvālis*, but being superseded by Iravi Kaṇṇappirān of Chōṇṇirappalli in the regime of a new *nāḍuvāli*, Kandan Kumaran of Talaippulam.

The presence of the residents of the 18 districts was not considered indispensable for all meetings. Matters of minor importance could be settled by the *Taḷiyālvān* and his officers, in the presence, however, of the *Paṭanāyar*, the chairman of this Committee of management, which in a sense formed the *Sthānattār* of similar South Indian inscriptions.

We do not possess adequate data to say definitely for what all matters the consent or presence of the *patinettunāṭṭār* was deemed essential. But, on an examination of the records referred to above, this much can be safely advanced, *viz.*, that their approval was indispensable for the receipt of gifts of lands endowed for the maintenance of different items of the temple services. (For instance, the Indu Kōdai inscription is concerned with the grant of lands in the Ukkiramaṅgalam village for the

Appigai and *Cittirai* festivals and with the details of expenditure of income accruing therefrom. The *Bhāskara Ravi Epigraph* relates to the grant of lands by a lady for *Śāntivṛtti*, etc. On the other hand, the *Kōdai Ravi* inscription, in which the *patinettunāṭṭār* are not stated to be present, merely settles doubts about the appropriation of incomes from different endowments for different purposes. Due to the damaged condition of record No. 347, we are unable to infer whether the assembly's assent was required by the *poduvāl* for lending out gold, on landed security and on condition of paying interest in paddy.

The interdiction of the *patinettunāṭṭār* and *Adhikārigal* (including the *poduvālmār*) from the collection of taxes (due to the *nāḍuvāli*, presumably) may point to the fact that, besides the collective responsibility of the villagers, the *poduvāls* (*purappoduvāls*) associated probably with one or two individuals selected by the *nāṭṭār*, were primarily responsible for the collection of taxes. ¹

The *Yā-Kō-Irāyar* inscription shows that the president of the assembly, though a military official, did not unnecessarily interfere in the temple affairs, and, if he intervened, he did it with an iron hand and for the good of the people by curbing the growing power of the exacting *Taḷiyālvān* and his myrmidons. As the *Taḷiyālvān* had used his powers to aggrandise himself at the expense of the temple no doubt with the connivance of the *Adhikārigal* under him—the building and properties of the temple were temporarily taken over by the *Paṭanāyar*. After settling the disputes concerning the *Taḷi*'s management, and after seeing that things were getting easy, he returned the properties, and reinvested the *Taḷiyālvān* and his officers with their original powers. The solemnity of the transaction is indicated by the formality of the grant and receipt of the transfer document signed by the *Paṭanāyar* himself.

The *Indu Kōdai* inscription is an instance where the assembly tried to provide against a possible refusal by the

1. Vide page 42, lines 258-61 and pages 62-3, *Travancore Archaeological series*, Vol. IV, Part I, where it is stated that the income set a part for the expenses of the *aganāḷigai* or *sanctum* shall be collected by two members of the *Sabhā* (assembly) and the *purappoduvāl*.

Taliyālvān to conduct the feeding on festival days. The *tālvu-parri* and *poduvāl* were temporarily to advance the amount for the festival by borrowing and to recoupe themselves from the income set apart. If the manager objected, the rest of the assembly was to non-co-operate with him and to boycott him till he was brought round. If he still remained recalcitrant, the *tālvu-parri*, *akappoduvāl*, and *poduvāl* (*purappoduvāl*) were to meet the expenses.

The word '*avirōtattāl*', in the inscriptions (Nos. 341 and 348) indicates that the deliberations of the assembly were conducted peacefully, without any hostilities.

From the undertaking—to maintain perpetual lamps by the supply of ghee—given by the people of different *deśams* like Perumaṅgāḍ (8 lamps and one *share* of ghee), Perumputtūr (12 shares of ghee) Cīrukōṭṭai and Iṭṭiyaikkāḍ¹ it will not be too much to infer that each of these *deśams* possessed some sort of corporate organisation to give expressions to its common will.

It is remarkable that the assembly had the self-restraint to subject to heavy fines those of its members who broke the compacts entered into by them. A fine of 25 *kaḷaṅjus* of gold was payable by each member of the *nāṭṭār* or officers (to the temple), for wrongfully collecting taxes from certain lands (No. 341). The abettors of the offender were given similar punishment, and they were not to exercise any authority without paying up the fine. The committee of the *Taliyālvān* and his officers also bound themselves by similar pacts, as will be seen from the last part of the record dated in the Kali year 4,030 (No. 343).

III-Economic Importance.

Considerable economic interest attaches also to these records. They reveal the temple assembly performing the functions of a bank, or better, a charitable trust. It received endowment of village lands for conducting festivals (No. 341), for maintenance of perpetual lamps (No. 343), for the expenses of even a subordinate Devasvam like the Neḍumpura shrine (No. 346)², for

1. *Vide* the Kōdai Ravi record.

2. Inscription No. 346 states that a piece of land in Kuvaḷa in Kōṇṇiśēri is set apart for expenses of the Kulaśekhara idol. This is the principal deity of the Neḍumpura temple called Kulaśekharaṇellūr.

the *śāntivṛtti* (No. 348), etc. It recorded agreements from (the assemblies of) the *deśakkār* of neighbouring *deśams* to pay fixed shares of ghee for lighting temple lamps and for miscellaneous expenses, being the *pāṭṭom* on lands leased out to them by the Nityavicāreśvaram assembly (No. 343). It (through its officers, especially the *poduvāl* lent out gold on the security of landed property, in return for interest payable in paddy, to be measured out into the temple granary (No. 347).

The temple was the support of the *Taliyālvān*, his officers including the *poduvāl* and *tālvuṣarri*, the *Śāntikkār*, the *Nambi*, the *Nagara Vālkaiyān*, the *akampadippanimakkī*, the *Cākyār*, and host of other attendants like the *kāṇan*, *oravian* and others doing menial service.

It is indeed worthy of note that, in spite of the existence of this imposing array of temple followers, the *patineṭṭunāṭṭār*, had also their allotted portion of communal labour. As stated in the Indu Kōdai inscription, the rice required for the *Aṭṭigai* and *Cittirai* Viṣu festivals was to be cooked by them. The principle of division of labour was strictly followed by the officers who strictly assigned fixed quantities of paddy for different sets of people, who had to husk the same.

The rent on the temple lands was collected by the *poduvāls* and they were mainly responsible for its disbursement, whether it be for feeding purposes or for the regular routine administration of the temple affairs. Their difficulties must have been greatly reduced by the system of appropriating definite items of income from endowments for particular purposes and the graded series of penalties imposed for non-payment or delay in payment, (Nos. 341 and 344) of the *pāṭṭom*. This must have, to some extent, provided also against misappropriation of temple funds.

These records throw some light on the weights and measures current in those days. For determination of weight, there was the *palam* and standard *kōl* or balance was that of the "*Perumā!*" or god of the temple. For measurement of solids and liquids there were the *kalam*, the *para*, the *edaṅgali* the half-measure, and different kinds of *nālis*. Of these, the *kalam* alone is the only one which is not now in vogue. It appears to have contained 5 or 6 *edaṅgalis*. Weights of gold and other metals were calculated in *kalañjus* and *kānams*.

These Epigraphs mention different kinds of tenures like *virutti* and *ūṭṭam* for service done for the temple and for providing paddy for food. In case the *pāṭṭom* on the *ūṭṭam* land was not paid on the due dated or double the quantity a month later, the land was liable to be transferred absolutely to another in perpetuity as an *aṭṭippēr*.

There remains to notice only the activities of the *Naṭṭuvan* or *Cākyār*, who, on festival occasions, must have expounded the *Purāṇās* and afforded amusement as well as interest to the audience. There was also the *Naṅgyār* for helping in the staging of the *Kūttu*, the indigenous theatrical performance of Kēraḷa.

It is also noteworthy in this connection that, in these records, we come accross, for the first time, such names as the *Kāntarpiḷaḷ*, the *oravian*, the *Nambi* of the *Nagara*, the *tālparri*, the *ariyūraṇ*, and others. They also contain references to the *bhūtabali*, the *pantīradipūja*, and other kinds of worship to the deity.

Thus we find that these inscriptions form a fit subject for careful study from different aspects. Their dynastic importance in helping us to place some of the less known Cēra monarchs in their historic setting, their constitutional interest in throwing valuable light on the working of the corporate bodies engaged in the task of local self-government, their economic value in affording us an insight into the part played by the temple in the ordering of the economic life of the country and other matters will be enough to show that they are of varied and absorbing interest and not merely a proper subject for antiquarian research.

CONJUNCTION OF PLANETS CALLED GRAHAYUTI IN HINDU ASTRONOMY

BY

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CALCUTTA.

"The conjunction of the five planets," says Sūrya Siddhānta, "is considered their fight (*yuddha*) or association (*samāgama*) with each other (according to their light and position); but their conjunction with the moon, is considered their association with her and that with the sun is their disappearance (*astamana*)."

It is apparent that the discussion on the conjunction of planets began from very early times, as the knowledge of the time of conjunction and opposition was necessary for the correct calculation of eclipses which the Hindus did from very early times. But it was Brahmagupta who put all the arguments together in his *Brahma Sphuṭa siddhānta* (628 A.D.).

At a given time we find that the conjunction of two planets, both moving eastward, is past when the place of the quick moving planet is beyond that of the slow-moving one, and that it is to follow when otherwise *i.e.*, when the place of the quick-moving planet is behind that of the slow-moving one. But when both the planets have retrograde motion, the reverse is the case. When, of the two planets, one is moving eastward and its place is beyond that of the other which moves to the west, their conjunction is past; but when the place of the retrograde is beyond that of the other (*i.e.*, the eastward moving) the conjunction is to take place in future¹.

Now to find the time of conjunction, a time sufficiently near the conjunction is assumed in which each of the two planets, for short intervals, may be considered to be moving uniformly. Let l_1 and l_2 be the longitudes of the two planets A and B, whose latitudes are nearly the same at a given time, and whose daily motions are at that time m_1 and m_2 respectively, m_1 being greater

1. Chap. VII, Sūrya Siddhānta.

greater than m_2 ; and let d be the interval required in days or fractions of a day and l the required longitude of conjunction. Then $\frac{m_1 (l_2 - l_1)}{m_1 - m_2}$ and $\frac{m_2 (l_2 - l_1)}{m_1 - m_2}$ are called the changes of the planets when both are direct or both retrograde and $\frac{m_1 (l_2 - l_1)}{m_1 + m_2}$ and $\frac{m_2 (l_2 - l_1)}{m_1 + m_2}$ are the changes when one is direct and the other retrograde. These changes are to be subtracted from, or added to, the places of these two planets according as the conjunction is past or to follow. But when the planets are retrograde, the reverse is the case. When one of the two planets is retrograde, add or subtract the changes to, or from, its place according as the conjunction is past or future. Thus $l = l_1 \pm \frac{m_1 (l_2 - l_1)}{m_1 \mp m_2}$ or $l_2 \mp \frac{m_2 (l_2 - l_1)}{m_1 \mp m_2}$ and the interval between the given time and the time of conjunction $d = \frac{l_2 - l_1}{m_1 - m_2}$.

Now, when the difference in latitude between the two planets is too great to be neglected, the lengths of day and night of the places of the planets are found at the time of conjunction, their latitudes and also in minutes, and their times from noon, and that for the rising and setting of each planet with the horoscope (rising point of the ecliptic) are computed.

A correction, called *Dr̥kkarma*, is required to be applied to the longitude of a planet for finding the point of the ecliptic (*Udaya Lagna*) which rises simultaneously with a planet.

This correction consists of two parts, one called the *Āyana Dr̥kkarma* and the other the *Ākṣa Dr̥kkarma*. The place of a planet, with the *Āyana Dr̥kkarma* applied, gives the point of the ecliptic on the hour circle which passes through the planet; and this corrected place of the planet again, with the *Ākṣa Dr̥kkarma* applied, gives the point of the ecliptic on the circle of position which passes through the planet.

These two parts are differently estimated in different astronomical works. In the *Sūrya Siddhānta* the *Ākṣa Dr̥kkarma* is found by multiplying the latitude of the planet by the equinoctial shadow and dividing the product by 12, and the quantity thus obtained being multiplied by the time in *ghaṭīkas* from noon of the planet's place and divided by half the length of the day of

the planet's place. This correction is to be subtracted from the planet's place when it is east of the meridian, and the latitude of the planet is north ; but it is to be added to the planet's place when the latitude is south.

This correction called the *Āyana Dṛkkarma* is found by adding 3 signs to the planet's place and finding the declination from the sun. Then the number of minutes contained in the planet's latitude multiplied by the number of degrees contained in the declination gives in seconds the correction called the *Āyana Dṛkkarma*. The *Āyana* correction is to be added to, or subtracted from, the planet's place, according as the declination and the planet's latitude are of the same or different signs.

The *Dṛkkarma* correction is also applied to the time of conjunction of a planet with a star whose difference in latitude is too great to be neglected, and when finding the times of rising and setting of the planets and the phases of the moon. It is likewise applied in the case of two planets, whose common longitude and apparent time of conjunction are determined by the rules already stated.

"The rules by which these corrections were made underwent considerable change from the original form in which they were constructed. Bhāskara, in the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, following Brahmagupta, gives rules for finding the difference in the times of rising of a planet and of the corresponding point of the ecliptic which determines the longitude of the planet. The difference is found from two horary angles to which the names *Āyana Dṛkkarma* and *Ākṣa Dṛkkarma* corrections are given. If these angles are denoted by θ and ϕ respectively and the latitude of the planet by λ , the latitude called the *Spaṣṭa Sāra* (the rectified latitude) by λ' , and the latitude of the observer's place be l , d being put for the declination of the planet, then Bhāskara's rules give $\sin Q = \frac{\sin \lambda}{\cos d} \times \sin \text{Āyana Valana}$ and

$$\sin \phi = \frac{R \sin \lambda'}{\cos d \cos l} \times \sin \text{Ākṣa Valana}."$$

[If π be the pole of the ecliptic, P the pole of the equinoctial, T the planet, N and R the north and south points, $\angle \pi T P$ is called the *Āyana Valana* and is due to the obliquity of

1. Brennand, *Hindu Astronomy*, page 298.

the ecliptic, and $\angle P T N$ is the Ākṣa Valana and is due to the latitude of the planet.]².

Let us take a projection of circles of the Eastern Hemisphere on the Meridian of the place, Z the zenith, $H E N$ the horizon, N its north point, $D E F$ the equinotical, E its east point and P its pole, $C O C'$ the ecliptic and K its pole, S a planet or star, $M S Q M'$ the diurnal circle through S , $K S O K'$ the circle of latitude passing through S and meeting the ecliptic in the point O .

Therefore, O will be the point of the Ecliptic which determines the longitude of the planet S , and $O S$ will be the latitude λ .

O is supposed to be in the horizon at a time after the rising of the planet through the arc $Q S$ of the diurnal circle. If, at this moment, great circles are supposed to be drawn from the pole of the equinoctial, to pass through S , O and Q , then the angles $P O N$ and $K O P$ would have been the Ākṣa Valana and Āyana Valana respectively and the sum or difference of these angles according to the position of the planet S is the true Valana. Now the time taken by the planet from the point Q to S of its diurnal circle is expressed by the hour angle $Q P S$ in time.

$$\angle Q P S = \angle S P O + \angle O P Q \text{ and } \angle S P O = \theta \text{ and } \angle O P Q = \phi.$$

$$\text{In the spherical triangle } \frac{\sin S P O}{\sin S O P} = \frac{\sin S O}{\sin S P}.$$

But $OS = \text{latitude of } S = \lambda$, $SP = 90^\circ - \text{dec.} = 90^\circ - d$. and $\angle S O P$ is the āyana valana

$$\therefore \sin \theta = \frac{\sin \lambda}{\cos d} \times \sin \text{Āyana Valana} \dots (1.)$$

Also in spherical triangle $R O Q$, we have $\frac{\sin R Q}{\sin O R} = \frac{\sin R O Q}{\sin R Q O}$ in which OR is the Spāṣṭa Sāra or rectified latitude = λ' , $\angle O Q R$ is approximately equal to $\angle H E D = 90^\circ - l$ and $\angle R O Q$ is the Ākṣa Valana. Hence $\sin Q R = \frac{\sin \lambda'}{\cos l} \times \sin \text{Ākṣa Valana} \dots (2.)$

$$\text{From the similar triangles } P R Q \text{ and } P R' Q \quad \frac{\sin P Q}{\sin R Q} = \frac{\sin P Q'}{\sin R' Q} \therefore \sin R Q = \frac{\sin P Q \times \sin R' Q'}{\sin P Q'} = \frac{\sin P Q \times \sin P}{\sin 90} = \cos d \sin P \dots (3.)$$

1. Regarding Āyana Valana and Ākṣa Valana, see pages 184 to 193, Golādhya, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi.

2. Brennand, Hindu Astrology, page 298.

$$1 \therefore \sin Q = \frac{\sin R \cos Q \times R}{\cos d} = \frac{R \sin \lambda'}{\cos d \cos l} \times \sin \bar{A}k\bar{s}a \text{ Valana} \dots (4.)$$

If both of these times thus found, be of the elevation or both of the depression, the planet will be elevated above or depressed below the horizon in the time equal to their sum, and if one of these be that which the planets takes for its elevation and the other for its depression, the planet will be elevated above or depressed below the horizon in the time equal to their differences as the remainder is of the time of elevation or of that of the depression. The sum or difference of the two times is called the resulted time of *Dr̥kkarma*.

Then the Hindu astronomers give various names to the associations and fights of the planets, the kinds of fights, distinguishing which is the conquerer and which is conquered etc. In the conjunction of any two minor planets, there is their fight called the *ullekha* (paring) when their discs only touch each other; but when the discs cross each other, the fight is called the *Cheda* (breaking). When in the conjunction, the rays of the two planets mix with each other, it is their fight, called the *am̐śu-vimarda* (the mixture of the rays). When in the conjunction of the two planets, their distance is less than one degree, it is their fight called the *a̐pasavya* (the contrary) if one of the two planets be smaller; otherwise the fight is not distinct. In the conjunction when the distance of the planets is greater than one degree, it is their association, if the discs of the planets are both large and bright; otherwise the association is indistinct. In the fight called *a̐pasavya* that planet is conquered which is obscure, small and gloomy; and that planet is overcome which is rough, discoloured or south of the other; and that is the conqueror of which the disc is the brighter and larger, whether it be north or south of the other. If in the conjunction the planets both be very near to each other and bright, then their fight is called the *Samāgama*; if both the planets be small or overpowered, then the fight is called the *Kuṭa* or *vigraha* respectively.²

The *Sūrya Siddhānta* concludes the discussion on their subject by remarking that the associations and fights of the planets are only imaginary, intended to foretell the good and evil

1. Vide Chapter IX, *Goḷādhya̐ya*; *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, *Dr̥kkarma Vāsanā*.

2. Vide *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chap. VII, verses 18 to 22.

fortune of people, since the planets being distant from each other move in their own separate orbits.

II HELIACAL RISING AND SETTING OF PLANETS AND STARS AS IN HINDU ASTRONOMY.

A planet or star rises or sets heliacally when it appears above or below the observer's horizon. Sūrya Siddhānta distinguishes between the rising and setting of Mercury (बुध) and Venus (शुक्र) which are never very distant from the sun, from the rising and setting of the three planets, Mars (भौम) Jupiter (गुरु) and Saturn (शनि) whose longitudes may differ from that of the sun by as much as a semi-circle.

This problem was tackled by several ancient astronomers of whom Lalla and Brahmagupta were mentioned by name in Bhāskara's Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. Lalla did not deal with the question in all its aspects, while Brahmagupta took into account all the necessary corrections for finding out the exact time.

"When you want to determine the time of the heliacal rising or setting of a planet," says Sūrya Siddhānta, "find at any given day near to that time the true places of the sun and the planet at the sun's setting, when the planet's heliacal rising or setting is in the western horizon; but when it is in the eastern horizon, determine the places at the rising of the sun; then apply the Dr̥kkarma correction to the planet's place."¹

Bhāskara in his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi² clearly states the object of the correction called the Dr̥kkarma which is requisite to be applied to the place of the planets, for finding the point of the ecliptic on the horizon when the planet reaches it. "A planet is not found," he says "on the horizon at the time at which its corresponding point in the ecliptic (or that point of the ecliptic having the same longitude) reaches the horizon, in as much as it is elevated above or depressed below the horizon, by the operation of its latitude. A correction called Dr̥kkarma to find the exact time of rising and setting of a planet is, therefore, necessary."

When the planet's corresponding point in the ecliptic reaches the horizon, the latitude then does not coincide with the

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. IX, verse 4.

2. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Goḷādhyāya, Chap. IX, verses 1 and 2.

horizon, but with the circle of latitude. The elevation of the latitude above and depression of it below the horizon, is of two sorts, (one of which is caused by obliquity of the ecliptic and the other by the latitude of the place). Hence the *Dr̥kkarma* is two-fold, *i.e.*, the *Āyana Dr̥kkarma* and the *Ākṣa Dr̥kkarma*.

The details and mode of performing these two parts of the correction have been clearly stated in connection with finding the time of conjunction of planets.

That point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet reaches it, is called the *Udaya Lagna*, rising horoscope of the planet. It is necessary to know the *Udaya Lagna* for finding the time of the planet's rising. The *Udaya Lagna* is found thus :—If the planet is depressed by the resulted time of the *Dr̥kkarma*, it is evident that when the planet will come to the eastern horizon, its corresponding place in the ecliptic will be elevated above it by the resulted time. For this reason, having assumed the corresponding place of the planet for the Sun, the horoscope is found by the direct process through the resulted time and this will be the rising horoscope. But if the planet be elevated above the horizon by the resulted time its corresponding place will be then depressed below it by the same time when the planet will come to it. Therefore the horoscope found by the indirect process through the resulted time will be the rising horoscope of the planet.

That point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet comes to the western horizon, is called the *Asta Lagna* or setting horoscope of the planet. As it is requisite to know the setting horoscope for finding the time of setting of the planet, the setting horoscope is found thus :—If the planet be depressed below the western horizon by the resulted time, it is plain that when the planet reaches it, its corresponding place will be elevated above it by the resulted time and consequently the corresponding place of the planet added with six signs will be depressed below the eastern horizon by the same time. Therefore, the corresponding place of the planet added with six signs is assumed for the sun and the horoscope is found by the indirect process through the resulted time and this will be the *Asta Lagna*, setting horoscope. But if the planet be depressed below the western horizon, its corresponding place added with six signs will then be elevated above the eastern horizon by the

resulted time and hence the horoscope found by the direct process will then be the Asta Lagna, setting horoscope.¹

The time in *prāṇas* between the rising of the point of the ecliptic corresponding to the planet's place and the place of the sun is then found. This time in *prāṇas*, divided by 60, gives what is called the *kālāṁśas* or time turned into degrees, at which, before sun-rise, a body rises heliacally. The *Kālāṁśas* for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn are stated to be 11, 15 and 17 degrees of time respectively; when the motion of Venus or Mercury is retrograde, Venus is stated to rise or set heliacally by 8 degrees of time and Mercury by 12 degrees, but when the motion is direct, Venus rises or sets heliacally with 10 degrees of time and Mercury by 14.

When the *kālāṁśas* of a planet thus found are greater than the numerical *kālāṁśas* mentioned above, the planet becomes visible, but it is invisible when the computed *kālāṁśas* are less². To find the interval in days, *ghaṭikās*, etc.; between the given time and that of the planet's heliacal rising or setting, the difference in minutes, between the *kālāṁśas* (i.e., *kālāṁśas* found from the place of the planet at the given time, and those which are the planet's own as mentioned before) is found and it is divided by the difference between the diurnal motions (turned into time) of the sun and the planet; the quantity obtained is the interval in days, *ghaṭikās* etc., between the given time and that of the planet's heliacal rising or setting.

This holds when the planet is direct; but when it is retrograde, the sum of the diurnal motions of the sun and the planet is taken in place of the difference of the diurnal motions. The daily motions of the sun and the planet, multiplied by the number of *prāṇas* contained in the rising periods of the signs occupied by the sun and the planet, and divided by 1800³, become the motions in time. From these motions (turned into time) the past or future days, *ghaṭikās*, etc. from the given time to the time of the heliacal rising or setting of the planet is found.

1. *Vide* foot note by Bāpudev Śāstri under verse 9, Chapter IX, *Golādhyāya*.

2. *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chap. IX, verses 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9.

3. The division is 1800 because one $\text{rāśi} = \frac{360^\circ}{12} = 30^\circ = 30 \times 60' = 1800$.

The *kālānśas* of a planet and those which are found at a given time from the place of the planet, multiplied by 1800 and divided by the rising period of the sun which is occupied by the planet, give the degrees of the ecliptic. The degrees of the ecliptic are taken for their corresponding degrees of time and from them the time of heliacal rising or setting of the planet is found.¹

As the constellations of stars are fixed, their latitudes are the *Spaṣṭa-Saras*, *i.e.*, the reduced values of the latitudes so as to render them fit to be added to or subtracted from the declination, and the *Dhruvas* or longitudes of these constellations are given, after being corrected by the *Āyana Dṛkkarma* so as to suit those corrected latitudes², that is, the star will appear to rise at the equator at the same time with longitude found by the correction. The stars rise heliacally in the eastern horizon and set heliacally in the western³. The *Ākṣa Dṛkkarma* to their longitudes is applied and through them the days past or future from the given time to the time of heliacal rising or setting of the stars from the diurnal motion of the sun only are found⁴.

1. *Sūrya Siddhānta*, verses 10, 11 & 16 Chapter IX.

2. *Bhāskara* censures *Lalla* and several other perceiving Astronomers who did not take into account the *Dṛkkarma* correction. He at the same time praises *Brahmagupta*, whose method he follows and considers as unexceptionable. Hence it is certain that even before the time of *Brahmagupta* this *Dṛkkarma* correction was known.

3. *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, verse 12, Chapter IX, *Goḷādhyāya*.

4. *Sūrya Siddhānta*, verse 17, Chapter IX.

SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKR̥T PASSAGES A REPLY.

BY

G. HARIHARA SASTRI.¹

The Bhāsa theory has been of late attracting opponents in increasing numbers and among the latest of their performances is a lengthy article under the heading "Some Unexplained Prākṛt Passages and their bearing on the Bhāsa Problem" (Ante. Vol. I Part iii, pp. 217-45) by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Dr. Raja begins by pointing out two misprints one in the preface of the Cārudatta and another in the introduction of the Svapnavāsavadatta of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, which, though rectified in subsequent editions, are said to have caused a heavy drain on his time in verifying quotations and therefore considered "an unpardonable crime" on the part of the editor! Among the few Prākṛt words which were not clear when the first edition of the Cārudatta was issued, three are explained by Dr. Raja as pure Malayāḷam words; and these taken along with some alleged "Malabar influence" found in the work are trotted out as evidence to show that it is an adaptation from the Mṛcchakaṭika by a Malabar hand with alterations suited to the Malabar stage. It has to be noted here that Dr. Raja has based his criticism on the first edition of the Cārudatta issued in 1914 even though a revised edition² having no "unexplained prākṛt passages" has been published in 1922. This is hardly defensible in one who works, himself into righteous indignation over two misprints! Without troubling myself with the question whether the Cārudatta is an adaptation from the Mṛcchakaṭika or *vice versa*, let me confine my attention to the consideration of the evidence on which Dr. Raja tries to make out a Malabar origin to the Cārudatta.

The three Prākṛt words explained by Dr. Raja as pure Malayāḷam words are "णाए," "अण्ठी" and "णेउन्मामण" which are

1. This is published here as a reply to the criticisms referred to, though it does not contain any sound argument in support of the Bhāsa theory put forward in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. S.K. Śāstri.

2. The Śrīdhara Power Press, Trivandrum.

not found in the *Mṛcchakatika*. He states that the first word occurs *twice* in the *Cārudatta* and is used as an address in both the places ; but, as matter of a fact, it occurs *thrice* in the *Cārudatta* and is used as an address in only one place. He takes it as a prakṛtisation of the Malayāḷam word ‘*nāya*’¹ (dog). It has to be remarked here that the use of prakṛtised vernacular words is unknown in Sanskrit dramas; and such a forced and far-fetched interpretation as Dr. Raja seeks to put on the word cannot be justified, especially when the word can more appropriately be interpreted as the prakṛt form of “नाथे” or “नायिके” as in the following line,

“किं याशि पावुशणिशाअळशोमकेशे
णाए शमुळ्ळुशिअपिञ्जिअपिञ्जवत्ते ।”

which occurs under *Mukhavarnana* in a work called “*Cārudatta-prabandha*”, an unpublished work, the manuscript of which exists in the Trivandrum Palace Library. Besides, it is not appropriate that even a Śākāra should refer to Vasantasenā as a dog, in the passage “भावे ! अन्धआळपूळिशगम्भीळा लच्छा दीशइ, मा खु णाए एत्थ भंशइदुवा” (p. 16) soon after expressing her attachment towards him in “शुणाहि भावे ! शुणाहि । एशा वशच्चशेणिआ मं शन्तो शि ति भणादि” (p. 15). The editor of the *Cārudatta* explains it in his second edition (p. 18) as “ज्ञाते” (a kinswoman) which is used as a sarcastic address of Vasantasenā by Śākāra.

Again Dr. Raja states that the word “अण्ठी” in the passage “अहिअमहुस्स अम्बस्स अजोग्गदाए अण्ठी ण भक्खी अदिति” (p. 6) is the Malayāḷam word “*aṇṭi*” which means the stone of a fruit. By a reference to *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* (p. 114), Bombay Sanskrit Series, he could have easily learnt that “अण्ठी” is the prakṛt form of the Sanskrit word “अस्थि” which means the stone of a fruit.

The word “गेउब्भामण” occurring in the passage “जह् लोही-पखिण्णकाकसारा भूमी, गेउब्भामणसुगन्धो.....” (p. 1) is explained by Dr. Raja as a prakṛtisation of the Malayāḷam “*neyyappa-maṇa*”¹ (the smell of a rice cake in fried ghee). This rendering is on the face of it grotesque if not ridiculous. The plausible

¹ Is this not a Tamil word?

Sanskrit equivalent is “स्नेहोद्भावन”¹ as shown in the second edition of the Cārudatta (p. 2). The meaning of the passage is “since the ground looks black, red and white on account of metal vessels placed around (for cooking), a smell like that of oily preparations (is felt) and priests are seen walking about as a good omen.” So much for the pure Malayāḷam words.

Let me now consider the so called Malabar influence in the Cārudatta. Dr. Raja proposes to change “श्वपट्टणेशे” occurring in the verse of Śākāra “किं वाशुजेवे श्वपट्टणेशे” (p. 12) in the Cārudatta into “शिवपट्टणेशे” on the supposition that the existing reading does not give a clear sense, and points out that this emendation “शिवपट्टणेशे” (i.e., the lord of Śivapaṭṭaṇa) offers a contrast with Vāsudeva as required in Śākāra’s speech and states that Śivapaṭṭaṇa² means Trichur in the Cochin State, where there is Śiva temple. The emendation is unwarranted, as “श्वपट्टणेशे” means the lord of “Pretapuri” or Naraka; and to speak of Vāsudeva as the lord of Naraka is quite in keeping with the peculiarities of Śākāra’s speech. Besides, the fact that the word occurs along with such Purāṇic characters as Vāsudeva, Kuntisuta and Janamejaya shows that it should be referring to a Purāṇic celebrity and not to a deity of a temple in a town like Trichur, which is incongruous.

Then, it is suggested that because the prākṛt word “पुच्छीअन्ति” (Skt. पृच्छयन्ते) in the passage “हंजे ! एवं उवासन्ति, देमहुअरात्ति पुच्छीअन्ति” (p. 35) in the Cārudatta, is used in the sense of *adhikṣepa* and as the Malayāḷam word “*pucchikkunnu*” has the same meaning, the Malayāḷam may be a formation from the Prākṛt and that the Prākṛt is used in the Cārudatta in its present Malayāḷam sense. There is no authority to say that “पुच्छीअन्ति” has the sense of censure (*adhikṣepa*). Here it means “spoken of” as the word “पुच्छदि” in the passage “अज्ज किं असाहारण ति पुच्छदि” in the Āścaryacūḍamaṇi (p. 6) which

1. Cf. the corresponding passage in Mrc. सिणिद्धगन्धेण &c. (p. 5).
2. Trichur is known as Śivapura but not as Śivapaṭṭaṇa; and this is just as it should be, for according to śilpa treatises paṭṭaṇa means a coastal town of maritime importance, Cf., Mayamata, T. S. S. No. 65, p. 41.

the commentary explains “अत्र पृच्छतेलक्षणयाभिधानार्थत्वम्”. But, I think no speculation on the word is needed. A little reflection will show that the right word here should be वुच्चीअन्ति¹ as in the corresponding passage in the Mṛcchakaṭika “अदो ज्जेव ताओ महु-अरिओ वुच्चन्ति”² (p. 53). I have had occasion to examine the passage under reference in one of the manuscripts used for the edition of the Cārudatta, and the word “पुच्छीअन्ति” is found to be capable of being read as “वुच्चीअन्ति” (Skt. “उच्यन्ते”) as there is small difference between *pu-cchī* and *vu-ccī* in the Malayāḷam script.

Dr. Raja takes the word “रच्छा” to mean “a street” in the passage “आआमितण्डुलोदअप्पवाहा रच्छा” (p. 5) which occurs in the Mṛcchakaṭika but not in the Cārudatta and he infers from this that the passage is omitted in the Cārudatta because street-houses being conspicuous by their absence in Malabar, the description will not appeal to the Malabar audience. The argument is not convincing. The word “रच्छा” (Skt. *rathyā*, Hind. *rasta*) cannot be taken in the restricted sense of a street. It only means a road and according to Kauṭalya³ a road of four *danḍas* in width which is found in Malabar as in every other country. Even on the assumption that “रच्छा” means a street, the negative nature of the argument cannot prove his case. On the contrary, following his line of argument we can prove that there is no Malabar influence in the Cārudatta from the passage “भावे एशा अन्धआळपूळिशगम्भीळा ळच्छा दीशइ” (p. 16) occurring in it.

Again “हद्धि ताळीपत्तं खु एदं” (p. 63) is found in the Cārudatta, but not in the Mṛcchakaṭika. Dr. Raja says that this passage shows the Malabar influence in the Cārudatta because the wearing of the rolls of palm leaves (Tālīpatra) through the lobes of the ear as an ornament is said to be a common custom in Malabar. This is not so. The custom of wearing rolls of palm leaves as an ear ornament is found in ancient India as is evident from the passage “विधवेवोन्मुक्तालपत्ता” of Bāṇa in the description of the Vindhya forest in his Kādambarī (Nirnaya-sagar, Edn. p. 40).

1. Cf “अदो ज्जेव सा अचेतणेत्ति वुच्चीअदि” (Mrc. p. 291.)
2. References always to the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Edition,
3. “चतुर्दण्डान्तरा रथ्या” Tri. Skt. Series, No. 79, p. 127.

From the fact that “ब्राह्मणी” is found in the Cārudatta in the place of “वधू” in the Mṛcchakaṭika, Dr. Raja holds that “वधू” (a dutiful wife) is changed into “ब्राह्मणी” in the Cārudatta, to suit the taste of the Malabar audience in as much as the latter word is said to denote women of a particular caste in Malabar whom Brahmins keep “as their wives without religious sanction of legal commitment.” This is an erroneous view. “ब्राह्मणी” means nothing more than a Brahmin’s wife, as such a usage¹ is common in Sanskrit dramas wherever a character plays the role of a Brahmin’s wife. If, however, we admit the word “ब्राह्मणी” to be a change in the Cārudatta, then the substitution of the name of a common woman in the place of that of a dutiful wife must be deemed to be perversity of taste on the part of the adaptor of the Cārudatta.

From the above considerations, it can be seen that Dr. Raja’s arguments do not make even a *prima facie* case that the Cārudatta is an adaptation by a Malabar hand from the Mṛcchakaṭika.

Dr. Raja then discusses a number of contested points connected with the Bhāsa problem and comes to the conclusion that like the Cārudatta, the Svapnavāsavadatta is also an adaptation. A few of these points may be examined.

Dr. Raja contends that the stanza “भासनाटकचक्र” on which the supporters of the Bhāsa theory have built up their vast discussions is of questionable authority, because, previous to this stanza Rājaśekhara ascribes Nāgānanda and other plays to Bhāsa which are admittedly the works of Harṣa. The previous stanzas fathering Nāgānanda and other plays on Bhāsa are found in an extract from a work called Kavivimarśa ascribed to Rājaśekhara and भासनाटकचक्रे which is the only genuine stanza of Rājaśekhara in the extract is found tacked on to the end of it. Dr. Raja taking all of them as the composition of Rājaśekhara rejects him as of questionable authority in as much as he wrongly ascribes Nāgānanda and other plays to Bhāsa. In exposing the fictitious character of Kavivimarśa and the alleged extract, I wrote elsewhere² as follows :—

1. Vidūṣaka’s wife is called ब्राह्मणी in the Viddhasāla of Rājaśekhara, and also Tāpasa’s wife in the Kalyāṇasaugandhika of Nīlakaṇṭha. Even in the Mṛcchakaṭika, Cārudatta addresses his wife as ब्राह्मणी “हा ब्राह्मणि द्विजकुले विमले प्रसूता” (p. 246.)

2. I. H. Q. Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 370-8, Calcutta.

"The extract is, in fact, known to be a patch-work of truth and falsehood, which an ingenious Paṇḍit had palmed off on some credulous Sanskritists, as an excerpt from a hypothetical work called the Kavivimarśa whose authorship he had cleverly foisted on Rājaśekhara, in imitation of whose other verses the questionable ones were modelled. The last verse of this extract, "भासनाटकचक्रे" occurs under *viśeṣakavipraśaṁsā* in the anthology, *Sūktimuktāvalī*, as that of poet Rājaśekhara. The anthology was compiled by Jalhaṇa,¹ a counsellor of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa, who ruled over the Deccan in the second half of the 13th century A. D. It is an unpublished work and its manuscript exists in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and many other places. A large number of memorial verses about individual poets attributed to poet Rājaśekhara is found in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *Hārāvalī* and other anthologies, and as these verses have an important bearing on the history of Sanskrit literature, Dr. Peterson² has already collected and grouped them together. The author of these verses is known to be the same as the author of the four dramas and the *Kāvyaṇīmāṁsā*; and as these particular verses are not traceable in the *Kāvyaṇīmāṁsā* where they might naturally have been expected to be found, their source is surmised to be the *Haravilāsa*³, a *Kāvya* which has also been ascribed to him by Hemacandra. But to the extract under reference and its source, namely the hypothetical Kavivimarśa, there is no reference to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We have heard of an Udāttarāghava quoted by Dhanika and others and Kiraṇāvalī, an incomplete work on logic by Udayanācārya; but the curious statement that Bhāsa wrote the Udāttarāghava and the tragedy Kiraṇāvalī is in itself an evidence of the spuriousness of the major portion of the extract under reference, excepting the last which has been independently authenticated as that of Rājaśekhara." It is certain that there is no work in existence called the Kavivimarśa and that the alleged extract is the product of a mischievous imagination. We are sorry to note that relying on this prodigious myth, Dr. Raja has made the bold assertion that "there is no grain of evidence for the Bhāsa theory" which is

1. Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search of Sanskrit mss.* 1887, 91, p. 7.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 57-71.

3. Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. I, p. 17.

inconsistent, with his observation, that "the published Svapna-vāsavadatta agrees in most of the essentials with the Svapna-vāsavadatta known to Śāradātanaya and Bhoja."

Dr. Raja then interprets the stanza "in quite a different way" thus :—"when the Svapnavāsavadatta was thrown as a test in the group of Bhāsa's dramas, the fire (*i. e.*, the conflagration scenes in Bhāsa's dramas) did not burn (excel) it, but the fire burnt (excelled) all the other dramas"; and tries to make out that Svapnavāsavadatta was not the work of Bhāsa but a rival drama to Bhāsa's. This interpretation is absurd for the following reasons :—(1) The stanza is not capable of the construction put upon it, for the word "क्षिप्ते" should be construed as referring to "भासनाटकचक्रे" and not to "स्वप्नवासवदत्ते" (understood); (2) it is against the tradition recorded in the Prthvī-rājavijaya and its commentary that Bhāsa's work survived the fire ordeal; (3) no evidence is adduced for the statement that Bhāsa's dramas contained conflagration scenes; and (4) Jalhana has the stanza in his Sūktimuktāvalī in praise of Bhāsa; while according to the interpretation of Dr. Raja, it glorifies not the poet Bhāsa but a rival drama to Bhāsa.

His interpretation of the stanza "सञ्चितपक्ष्म क्वाटम्" which occurs in the Dhvanyālokalocana (p. 152) as a quotation from a work called Svapnavāsavadatta has led him to infer that it should find a place in the 5th act of the Svapnavāsavadatta. I take "सञ्चित" or more properly "स्वञ्चित" as suggested by Dr. Thomas,¹ to be an obvious epithet² of "पक्ष्म" having no special bearing on the meaning of the stanza. The purport of the stanza is this : The form of the princess breaking open my eyes forced its way into my heart, *i. e.*, I saw the princess with my own eyes and her image has been fixed in my heart. This is apparently a description by a lover of his love at first sight and the context is therefore unsuited to the plot of the published text. Besides, the literary style of the stanza, which is expressed in a long-drawn and grotesque metaphor, contrasts very strongly with the simple and charming diction of the published text, unadorned with any rhetorical embellishments. Moreover it is quoted in the Locana as an example of poetry

1. J. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 103-4.

2. Cf. 'अञ्चिताक्षपक्ष्मा' (Raghu Vamśa 5. 7b.)

where a poet unnaturally subordinates the Rasa to a vain striving after rhetorical effect¹. This great disparity of style is also a strong evidence to show that it could not find a place in the published Svapnavāsavadatta. Abhinavagupta has however quoted it as from a work called Svapnavāsavadatta, but without impugning his great authority, I think the discrepancy may be explained as due either to the fact that writers on poetics generally adopted illustrations of their predecessors in the field instead of drawing them direct from the sources themselves or that they quoted from memory in those days when there were no great facilities for reference and verification.

Dr. Raja points out that the verse,

“पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोष्म चेदं शिलातलम् ।

नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥”

quoted in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa² as from the Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa will not fit in the gap as suggested by Dr. Sūkthankar³ because the insertion makes the passage “इमाणि अवइत्कुसुमाणि सेफाळिआगुच्छआणि पेक्खदु दाव भवम्”⁴(p. 37) occurring further on in the published Svapnavāsavadatta a repetition of the first line of the verse. This statement is evidently based on a misinterpretation of the passage into : “These bunches of *śephālikā* flowers crushed.” While the correct interpretation, namely, “These *śephālikā* bushes from which the flowers are plucked” makes no repetition at all. He also suggests that there is a displacement of the verse in the published Svapnavāsavadatta in this wise. The second line “सोष्म चेदं शिलातलम्” was omitted because the king could not infer that some one was sitting on the stone seat from the warmth as the seat is described in the text as exposed to the hot sun; and the other three lines were made up by the jester’s statements, “तत्तहोदी पदुमावदी इह आअच्छिअ णिगदा भवे,” and “इमाणि अवइत्कुसुमाणि सेफाळिआगुच्छआणि पेक्खदु दाव भवम्” (p. 37). Here the stone seat was not actually hot as Dr. Raja takes it to be inasmuch as the king and the jester continued to

1. Hence the *anaucitya* in speaking of one’s own eyelashes as “स्वञ्चित्”

2. J. A. Octobar-December 1923, p. 197.

3. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 137.

4. References always to the first edition T. S. S. No. 15.

sit thereon till the very close of the *Śephālikāṅka*¹, while the jester's remark “सरअकालतिक्खो दुस्सहो आदवो” (p. 37) is not meant to show that the seat was hot, but as a device to bring in the bee-incident that follows. Moreover the fact that the princess came to Pramadavana (pleasure garden) to see if the śephālikā bushes were in blossom shows that the incidents of the scene took place early in the morning. The statement that the “rest of the stanza was allotted to the jester” is, as already shown, based on a misunderstanding of the passages. That there is no displacement of the verse in the text may be seen from what is stated below :—The king feeling the stone seat to be warm observes that some lady must have been sitting thereon and left on seeing him; while the jester surmises that the lady must have been Padmāvatī because the flowers were plucked from the śephālikā bushes which none else would dare to do in the pleasure garden.

He further states that, according to the quotation of Sarvānanda in the *Amaratīkāsarvasva*², the *Svapnavāsavadatta* should contain the incident of the marriage of Udayana with Vāsavadattā whereas it is not found in the published *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and argues that the incident formed the concluding portion of the original *Svapnavāsavadatta* and that the published text is only an adaptation of the first six acts of the original work.

When Udayana was in full enjoyment of a happy wedded life with Vāsavadattā, Yaugandharāyaṇa contrives to bring about a marriage between his master and Padmāvatī, the Magadha princess and thus recover the lost territories of his master by means of an alliance with the Magadha king. But Udayana was so passionately attached to Vāsavadattā that he could not be persuaded to fall in with his plans during the life time of Vāsavadattā, and much less would the Magadha king consent to his sister being given in marriage to one who had already a royal consort in Vāsavadattā. The resourceful minister, however, tries another plan with Vāsavadattā by which the noble lady agrees to suffer for the sake of her lord. Accordingly he spreads out the rumour that Vāsavadattā was burnt to death in the *Lāvāṇaka*

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1. राजा—तस्मदिहैवासिष्यावहे । विदू-एवं होदु । (उभावुपविशतः)
.....इमादो सिळावट्टआदो ण सक्कं एक्क पदं वि गमिदुम् (pp. 38, 41.)
2. T. S. S. No. 38, p. 147.

conflagration and entrusts her, disguised as Āvantikā, with Padmāvatī herself. All these incidents of the story of Udayana are presupposed by the plot in the published Svapnavāsavadatta which is by itself organically complete. It is therefore inconceivable how the incident of Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā could form the concluding portion of the play as now published without spoiling its artistic effect. Besides, Vāsavadattā is mentioned all through the play as *Devī*¹ and *Mahiṣī*²—epithets appropriate only to a duly anointed queen.

The verse “शरच्छाङ्कगौरेण” (p. 46) occurring in the published Svapnavāsavadatta is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvya-lāṅkāra sūtra with the variant reading “शरच्चन्द्रांशुगौरेण”,³ and the commentator Gopendra Tippa observes “चन्द्रांशुगौरेण-यनेन चन्द्रिकायां काशपुष्पलवस्याविवेचनीयता सूचिता”. From this it is argued that the incidents of the scene took place on a moon-lit night and that because the incidents in the published text are laid in day time, the text has undergone some alteration. It has already been shown that the incidents of the scene took place in a morning. Besides Gopendra Tippa's ingenious commentary alone cannot suffice to establish that the incidents of the scene took place on a moon-lit night in the absence of evidence to show that he had a knowledge of the source from which Vāmana quoted the above verse.

It should be plain from the foregoing that the arguments advanced by Dr. Kunhan Raja are too weak to support his theory that the published Svapnavāsavadatta is an adaptation from a larger drama of that name. In conclusion, I have only to add that Dr. Raja whose carelessness has been illustrated in this short paper could have been less extravagant in his remarks about the capacity or critical acumen of the late editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series whose reputation as a scholar of unquestioned versatility and eminence had been suitably recognized in the joint session of the American Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society and Society Asiatique of Paris in July 1920, when the Sanskritists therein assembled voted him an address.

1. देव्यपनये कृता ते बुद्धिः.....स्वामिन् देव्याः कुशलनिवेदनार्थम्
(pp. 76, 77.)

2. पृच्छाय राजमहिषीम् (p. 73.)

3. Benares. Skt. Series. 1908, p 145.

THE AGE OF MAṆIMĒKALAI

BY

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN.

It is a pity that scholars unanimously assume that the bulk of early Tamil poetry is the product of one age. In fact, the poems assigned to the so-called Saṅgham age represent varying degrees of antiquity and a thorough and critical examination of these is necessary before they can be chronologically regrouped, if such regrouping is at all possible. In the poems Cilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai, however, we have material of a better class and a scrutiny of the available evidence is bound to reveal some historical landmarks, on the basis of which, a considerable section of Tamil literary history can be reconstructed. The late Mr. R. Svāminātha Iyer attacked the problem from the philological point of view. Prof. Jacobi established¹ the textual identity of passages in Maṇimēkalai and an early Sanskrit treatise. A similar but very much humbler attempt is made in the present paper and the writer hopes that in spite of the numerous conjectures offered, he is not quite off the track.

Our knowledge of the Buddhistic pantheon is more full than that of Tamil history. The question arises, what period of the history of Buddhism does the mythology of Maṇimēkalai fit in with?

The poem is named after the heroine and the heroine after the goddess Maṇimēkalai and the theme of the poem appears to be the exaltation of this goddess. Tivatilakai, the guardian of Maṇipallavam, announces the destruction of Puhar by the sea let loose by this goddess and later we read of a temple that was built for her at Kāñci, at the instance of the heroine. Kōvalaṇ, an ancestor of the heroine was said to have invoked her when shipwrecked. Kōvalaṇ was saved and he attributed his deliverance to her and made her his family deity. Who was this goddess?

1. Independently of what Prof. Jacobi might have said in this matter, the textual identity of certain passage in the Maṇimēkalai and in the Nyāya-praveśa, was established in the article on 'Aravaṇavaṭikal' in part III Vol I-July 1927 of this Journal. S. K. Sastri.

The goddess Tārā of the Buddhists was 'mistress of the boats.' She controlled waves and floods. 'Tārā the mother whom waters obey is the chief of those Śaktis who guide the boats'. She had millions of boat-women under her and she bestowed wealth like Lakṣmī. The goddess Maṇimēkalai was no other than Tārā.

Messrs. Waddel and Hīrānanda Śāstrī¹ have conclusively proved that the Tārā cult was unknown in India, prior to the 6th century A.D. Tārā became popular in the 7th century and the maritime activity of the period gave her a vogue such as she never had before. The poem Maṇimēkalai, which does literary propaganda for this goddess, cannot be assigned to an age earlier than the 6th century.

On the strength of this upper limit, the poem may be tentatively interpreted in the light of Javanese chronology, in so far as the latter is available.

Java and Sumatra appear to have been colonised early and there were undoubtedly several streams of colonists that started from various parts of the Indian continent. Two phases are recognised in the colonisation of Java, the first of which introduced Brahminism and the second Mahāyāna Buddhism into the island. The latter was associated with the kings of the Śailendra dynasty. The earliest reference to Tārā in Java is the Kalasan inscription of 778 A.D. which records the dedication of a temple to her by a Śailendra.

In the poem Maṇimēkalai we have glimpses into the process of evangelisation of Java. The conversion of the cannibals by Caḍuvan the merchant-missionary, is an instance. The legend of Āputra is, in all probability, a parable indicating the advent of later Buddhist culture in Java and is perhaps also a reminiscence of some outstanding king of the island. It must be remembered that instead of being reborn in Magadha, the reward for righteousness such as his, he is reborn in Java. Did he symbolise the extinction of the faith in India and its revival in other lands? And was the Indra dynasty that ruled from Nāga-puram the same as the Śailendra dynasty that dominated Java in the 7th and 8th centuries? The conjectures do not appear improbable.

1. 'The cult of Avalōkitēśwara and Tārā' by Waddel in J. R. A. S. Jan. 1894. 'The cult of Tārā' by H. Śāstry.

While during Fa Hien's visit 'heretics and Brahmins flourished in the island' and Buddhism was not known, in I Tsing's time Brahminism had all but disappeared. The Java of Mañi-mēkalai is more like that of I Tsing than that of Fa Hien.

Mention may be made of Kucarakuṭikai on which Smith based his argument for a late date for the poem. According to the Kāmikāgama quoted by the late Mr. Gopinath Rau¹, Kuṭikai was the place where a rich landlord lived with his tenants and dependents. The Kuṭikai under reference was therefore a settlement or quarter of the city and not a temple. Kucarakuṭikai was the Kūrjara quarter of the city and was thus named to distinguish it, for instance, from the Yavanacēri. Smith's argument may be taken to be sound in view of this interpretation.

1. Elements of Hindu Iconography Vol. II—Part II, Page 428.

APPENDIX.

THE LEGEND OF ĀPUTRA.

Būmi-candra was the king of Java and his queen was *Amarasundari*. His capital was *Nāgaṭuram* and the mountain close to it was *Davalamalai*. There was a twelve-year famine in the good king's reign and his people were sore afflicted.

On *Davalamalai*, *Maṇ-muka riṣi* was doing penance and one day there appeared unto him a cow with golden horns and hoofs, that fed the famished with her wondrous milk. The seer knew that a super-man who would save all life was about to issue from her (out of a golden egg). And so it happened. A boy arose on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha*. Marvels attended his birth even like unto those that attended the birth of *Buddha*. The king *Būmi-candra* who had no offspring brought up the child as his own.

The child grew up to be *Puṇya Rājā*. During his time there was plenty of rain and famine was heard of no more. His preceptor was *Darma-Cāvaka* who resided in a grove adjoining *Nāgaṭuram*.

(The story of the king in his previous birth belongs to India, also that of his cow-mother; and they are summarised now. He was known as *Āputra* because a cow had taken care of him when he was abandoned by his mother. A Brahmin villager in the *Pāṇḍya* country brought him up, but renounced him when he grew to be a heretic (*i.e.*) when he rescued a cow from a sacrifice and engaged the Brahmins in controversy and ridiculed their great men. He was ostracised by the community, but was befriended by the goddess *Cintā-Dēvī*, who gave him a miraculous bowl, out of which he fed the starving. *Indra* taking fright at his righteousness, made the country fertile by timely showers of rain. There was none to seek *Āputra* for food now. Hearing, through some travellers, of a famine in Java, he took ship and alighted accidentally at *Maṇipallavam*. The captain, ignorant of the fact, set sail during the night. *Āputra* in despair flung the bowl into the pond *Gōmuki* and gave up his life. He was reborn as the King of Java.)

The nun Maṇimēkalai visited the king and induced him to make a pilgrimage to the footprints at *Maṇipallavam*, so that he may gain knowledge of his previous birth. The king took it into his head to renounce the kingdom, but his minister *Janamitra* remonstrating, he entrusted the care of the state to *Janamitra* for one month, took boat to *Maṇipallavam*, offered worship to the footprints and gained knowledge of his past birth. He saw the bodily remains of *Āputra* the waves had thrown up, also those of his seven fellow-passengers and their dependants who accompanied him on the voyage, who finding that their companion had been stranded, had returned to the island and given up their lives.

The King learned that, consequent on a curse by the goddess Maṇimēkalai, Puhar was washed away by the sea, and returned to his city.

APPAYYA DĪKṢITA'S AGE.

BY

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The Appayya-Dīkṣitendra-vijaya by the venerable Saṁnyāsin, Śivānandayōgīndra, was published in 1920 by M. R. Ry Gaṇapati Śāstriāl avl, of Karathur. Even before the publication of the work the verse in it which describes the nativity of Appayya Dīkṣita had obtained much currency among scholars. The verse is as follows :—

वीणातत्त्वज्ञसङ्ख्यालसितकलिसमाभाक् प्रमातीचवर्षे
कन्यामासेऽथ कृष्णप्रथमतियुतेऽप्युत्तरप्रोष्ठपाद्रे ।

कन्यालग्नेऽद्रिकन्यापतिरमितदयाशेवधिर्वैदिकेषु

श्रीदेव्यै प्राग्यथोक्तं समजनि हि समीपेऽत्र काञ्चीनगर्याः ॥

The last quarter has an alternative reading

श्रीदेव्यै प्राग्यथाऽऽह स्म समजनि विरिञ्चीशपुर्या कलेशः ॥

The date indicated by this verse is detailed out in several corresponding eras by Śivānanda. Kali 4654; Śaka 1475; Vikrama Śaka 1610; Kollam 729 etc. We may add the Christian era 1553 A.D., about the 18th of September.

In another verse Śivānanda gives the horoscope itself.

लग्ने रवीन्दुसुतयोर्मकरे च मान्दौ मीने शशिन्यथ वृषे रविजे च राहौ ।

चापे गुरौ क्षितिसुते मिथुने तुलायां शुके शिखिन्यलिगते शुभलग्न एवम् ॥

The planetary positions in the Rāśi are therefore :—

Candra		Śani and Rāhu	Kuja
	Rāśi		
Māndi			
	Ketu	Śukra	Lagna-Ravi and Budha.

These verses are found also in the commentary of Śivānanda upon Appayya Dikṣita's Ātmārpanastuti.

From about the last decade of the Nineteenth century up to the present time, various works of Appayya Dikṣita have been published throughout India. One of the earliest scholars to write an introductory note on Appayya Dikṣita was the late Bhaṭṭa Śrī Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī. In 1894 he contributed a preface to the Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha. He does not seem to have known these verses of Śivānanda giving a definite date for Appayya Dikṣita; for drifting dizzily upon a whirlpool of traditions he lands upon the conclusion that the Dikṣita lived from 1587 to 1660. Thirty years back, when the epigraphical discoveries were not brilliant enough to illuminate sufficiently the dark pages of South Indian History during the century under consideration, it is not surprising that critics were left to cull materials for reconstruction from half-true or wholly misleading traditions. They had but one solitary sign-post for both the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries from which they had to work either backward or forward scenting with their common-sense the nearest probabilities. This sign-post was furnished by that essentially modern mind of Śrī Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita in his Nilakaṇṭha Vijayacampū, where he mentions that he wrote the work in 1636 A.D. Some traditional matter mixed with this datum gave various conjectural dates for Appayya Dikṣita such as, 1564 to 1636 ; 1550 to 1623 and so on.

The learned editors of the Arivīlmaṅgalam plates of Śrī Raṅga quote Śivānanda's verses apparently second hand, and conclude "Hence it is clear that Appayya Dikṣita lived from about 1554 to 1626." (*Vide* Ep. Ind. XII).

As early as 1892 the late Paṇḍit Hālāsyānātha Śāstrī, in his preface to the Kuvalayānanda, relied upon Śivānanda's biography for the date 1552 being the birth-date of Appayya Dikṣita.

Since these publications, there has been no divergence of opinion upon the date of Appayya Dikṣita. In his very learned introduction to the Gaṅgāvataraṇam published in 1902 at Bombay, M. R. Ry. T. S. Kuppaswāmi Śāstriar of Tanjore has sought to lay hold upon a corroborative evidence available in the translation of Oriental Historical Manuscripts by Taylor. In Vol. II, page. 149 of that work, an account is given of a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute at Madura in 1626 Akṣaya year ; in which two arbitrators were appointed namely Appa Dikṣita for Śaivas

and Ayyā Dikṣitan Ayyan for Vaiṣṇavas. The dispute continued hotly for six months and was carried on in the presence of Tirumal Naik, the then King of Madura. Accordingly it is inferred that in Akṣaya, Appaya Dikṣita went, on Tirumal Naik's invitation, to Madura and arbitrated for six months and then came back to Chidambaram to die. Having been thus affirmed at both the extremities, the date of 1553-1626 has taken a firm root. Undoubtedly the intervening duration tallies with the well-established longevity of the दीक्षित, for Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha remarks in the first canto of his Śivalilāraṇava.—

कालेन शम्भुः किल तावतापि कलाश्चतुष्पष्टिमिताः प्रणिन्ये ।

द्वास्ततिं प्राप्य समाः प्रबन्धान् शतं व्यधादप्यदीक्षितेन्द्रः ॥

In 1920 in the preface written by my father to the biography under discussion, for the first time as far as I am aware, the accepted date of 1553 to 1626 was discredited and an alternative date of 1520 to 1593 was propounded. But the attention of scholars, I venture to think, has not been directed to it, as some of the works of Appayya Dikṣita published since 1920 still unsuspectingly stick to the date of 1553-1626 in their prefatory notes.

Nothing is easier to a student of South Indian History than the determination of the precise date of Appayya Dikṣita as the Dikṣita himself is unmistakable in his references to his Royal patrons. Before entering into the question in hand directly, I beg the permission of the reader to digress a little, for the purpose of taking a bird's eye view of the political condition of South India in the Sixteenth century.

Vijayanagar was exercising her imperial sway from the Tuṅgabhadra to the Tāmraparṇī. Gingi, Vellore, Mysore, Tanjore, Madura and even Travancore, acknowledged her suzerainty. The Muslim kingdoms to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra were held under effective check. But all this imperial glory had to be maintained intact only by unceasing military alertness. Battles, expeditions and sieges were not few, for, apart from the Muslim danger on the flank, there were frequent internal disturbances in the Empire on account of the insubordination of feudatories far and near.

At the commencement of the century, the Tuluva dynasty had come to power. Narasiṁha, the son of Narasa Naik, ascended

the imperial throne of Vijayanagar in 1505 after deposing Viranarasimha of the Sāluva line. He was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya in 1509. He ruled till his death in 1528. 1509 to 1528 was the most glorious period in the history of the Empire of Vijayanagar. The power of the Imperial Government was felt and respected in its farthest limits, and the Augustan age of Telugu literature (synchronising with the last renaissance-period of Sanskrit literature) put forth its first blossoms. Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya was succeeded by his brother Acyuta Rāya (1528 to 1542), who in his turn was succeeded by his brother's son Sadāśiva Rāya. (1542 to 1567.) Sadāśiva was a mere boy when he was installed Emperor of Vijayanagar. Rāma Rāya of the Karnāṭak line of princes, who was the son-in-law of the late Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, was instrumental in securing for Sadāśiva the throne which was disputed. He acted as Sadāśiva's regent. Even when Sadāśiva grew up, he was so inefficient that he continued a puppet leaving the whole administration in the hands of Rāma Rāya.

1565, the year of the battle of Talikōṭṭa or Raksas-Tagdi (as Prof. Heras would call it) was a turning point in Vijayanagar history. The Empire came to an end for a while. The seat of Government was no more Vijayanagar, for that imperial city was rased to the ground by the vindictive Muslims. Rāma Rāya had died in the battle at the advanced age of 97 years. When in 1567 Sadāśiva died, Tirumalai, brother of Rāma Rāya, proclaimed himself king. The seat of Government from thence was Candragiri or Penukōṇḍa. The accession of Tirumalai marks the change of line from Tuḷuva to the Āravīḍu dynasty.

In 1574 Tirumalai's son Śrī Raṅga ascended the throne. His brother Veṅkaṭapati succeeded him and ruled from 1585 to 1614. These princes recovered the lost glory of the Empire during their times to a considerable extent.

Gingi was an important feudatory of Vijayanagar. One Śūrappa Naik was the ruler from about 1550 to 1575; and from about 1578 till about 1610, one Kṛṣṇappa Naik was the ruler. This much only is the certain information we are able to gather from the sources about Gingi.

Vellore figures more prominently in the Epigraphic records of the period and we are aware that till about the middle of the century one Cinna Virappa Naik was its ruling Chief and that

afterwards (*i.e.* from about 1549) his son, Cinna Bomma Naik became the ruler. He seems to have flourished till 1578. He was succeeded by his son Liṅgama Naik who continued to rule till about 1614.

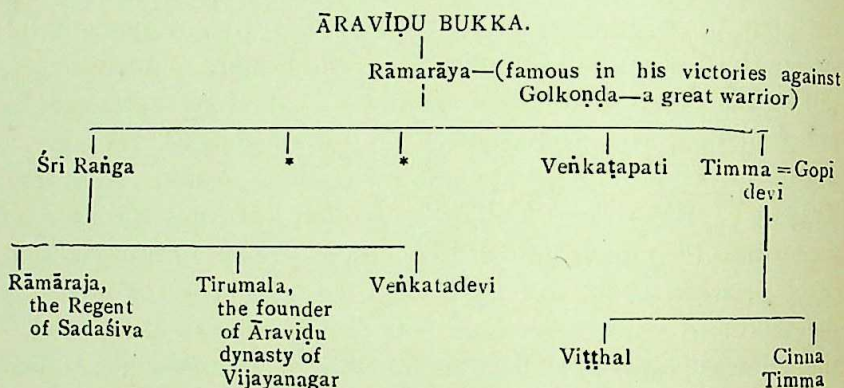
There were the Chiefs of Kārveṭanagar. It will suffice for us to know that in the first two decades of the 17th Century the ruling Chief was one Sālva Māka Rāya.

When Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya was reigning at Vijayanagar, one Vīra Śekhara Cōḷa was the king of Tanjore. But it was the plan of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya to have his own governors in the far south to safeguard the interests of the Empire. Accordingly, during his time, Sālva Naik, otherwise called Vīra Narasiṃha and Cellappa, was Governor of the Cōḷa countries. He was a masterful person and a thorough-going administrator. Soon after Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya died, Cellappa revolted. Acyuta Rāya led an expedition to punish him and his allies. These operations took place between 1530 and 1535. On the latter date Cellappa was defeated and made a prisoner. It is not clear in history whether he was restored to his governorship or not. Possibly he was restored and continued to rule for about ten more years, at the end of which period very likely he died. There is an opinion among some scholars that this Cellappa—Sālva Naik—Vīra-narasiṃha was none other than the Sālva King of Vijayanagar who was deposed by the founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty. If this view be correct, the lenience here assumed to have been shown to him by Acyuta by restoring him to power after revolt, would seem appropriate.

Anyhow some years before 1549, the new line of Tanjore Naiks was founded. Śevvappa was Acyutarāya's queen's sister's husband. Śevvappa got the Cōḷa kingdom as his wife's Strīdhana from Acyuta. Śevvappa ruled at Tanjore till about 1577. His son Acyutappa ruled till 1597 and was succeeded by Raghunātha; Raghunātha ruled for a fairly long period till about 1634 or so.

The contemporary of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya at Madura was one Śrī Vallabhadeva Pāṇḍya. The contemporary of Acyuta at Madura was Candra Śekhara Pāṇḍya. This Pāṇḍya being weak was driven out by Vīra Śekhara Cōḷa of Tanjore in or about 1537, and he applied for protection to Vijayanagar. Acyuta sent Nāgama Naik for restoring the Pāṇḍya to his kingdom and chastising Vīra Śekhara. The latter was killed in battle and the

former was restored. In or about 1542 Candra Śekhara died without an heir, bequeathing his kingdom willingly to Viśva-nātha Naik, son of Nāgama Naik. Thus was founded the Madura Naik dynasty. But until 1558 his power was nominal, as Viṭṭhal and Cinna Timma were Viceroys of the South with supreme authority. These were the cousins of Rāma Rāya, the then regent of Sadāśiva. The pedigree of the family is very important from our point of view. The relevant portion of it is as follows :—



Having thus briefly sketched the political history of the period, I shall now try to explain in what manner the above sketch helps us in determining the date of Appayya Dīkṣita. Fortunately the chronology of the kings mentioned by the Dīkṣita in his works as his patrons takes such a line that it covers the whole of the Dīkṣita's life. I shall here take these up in the order of chronology.

The Dīkṣita's first patron was Prince Cinna Timma, upon whose request he wrote his commentary on Vedānta Deśika's epic, Yādavābhyudayam. The prelude is as follows :—

वंशे महति सुधांशोः पाण्डुसुतप्रवरचरितपरिपूते ।
 आसीदपारमहिमा महीश्वरो रामराज इति ॥
 उदपादि तिमिराजः ततोम्बुधेरिव सुधामयान्मणिराजः ।
 हृदयङ्गमं मुरारेर्यमलञ्चके प्रभेव गोपीदेवी ॥
 राजर्षिरेव सुचिरं धुरि स्थितः सत्यसन्धानाम् ।
 आराध्य वेङ्कटेश्वरमलभत लोकोत्तरान् पुत्रान् ॥
 तेषु महितेषु जयति त्रिदिवाधीशेषु पद्मबन्धुरिव ।
 श्रीचिन्मतिमिराजः प्रतापनीराजितक्षमावल्यः ॥

पृवमानस्य समुद्रे सेतोरशैथिल्यशङ्कया निहिताः ।
 कीला इव भासन्ते तत्रत्या यस्य पृथुजयस्तम्भाः ॥
 मलयाद्रिकटकनिकटे विन्ध्य इवाभाति यज्जयस्तम्भः ।
 अद्यापि नागतोऽसीत्यगस्त्यमनुयोक्तुमन्तिकोन्मग्नः ॥
 अभिभवति कालमेघं रविकरनिकरं तिरस्कुरुते ।
 यद्दानवारिसागरजन्मा जगदद्भुतो यशश्चन्द्रः ॥
 सूक्तिमयैः स्वप्नभवैरमृतैराप्याययन् सदा विबुधान् ।
 कुलकूटस्थस्येन्दोराचारं योऽनुवर्तते धीरः ॥
 साहित्यगोष्ठीं सरसमातिष्ठन्नयमेकदा ।
 यादवाभ्युदयं काव्यमौश्रौषीद्विदुषां मुखात् ॥
 अव्याख्याततया पूर्वैरनभिव्यक्तभावकम् ।
 अष्टमिव शिल्पज्ञैरभिजातं हरिन्मणिम् ॥
 तदाकर्णनतः सद्यस्समुदञ्चत्कुतूहलः ।
 विदुषां पुरतस्तस्य विवृतौ मां न्ययोजयत् ॥
 कवितार्किकसिंहस्य काव्यमेतद्यथामति ।
 विवृणोमि महीपालनियोगबहुमानतः ॥

We know that Cinna Timma was in the South from 1542 to about 1550, as General of the Empire and as Viceroy. Soon after the coronation of Sadāśiva, he was sent with his brother Viṭṭhal, to subdue the rebellious feudatories of the south, including Travancore, which had withheld tribute to Vijayanagar. Cinna Timma conquered Cōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya Kingdoms, subdued Travancore and the Coromandel coast. He is sometimes referred to as the Governor of Trichinopoly. Possibly he had Trichinopoly for his headquarters. For about a decade he was engaged in reorganising the province of Madura of which Viśvanātha Naik was then the Governor. Viśvanātha Naik must have played a subordinate part to Cinna Timma. Appayya Dikṣita's account of the victories of Cinna Timma is very precise. The Yādavābhyudaya-vyākhyā should have been written about 1550, after the military successes of Cinna Timma in the South and possibly to commemorate the same.

Appayya Dikṣita's next patron was Cinna Bomma Naik of Vellore. We hear of him in inscriptions dating from 1549 to 1578. As the Aḍaiyapalam inscription dated 1582 refers to him

in terms of past he should have died between 1578 and 1582. Appayya Dikṣita lived the longest period under the patronage of Cinna Bomma and the Dikṣita's keenest activities in connection with the revival of Śaivism were conducted during this period. He then wrote all his Śaiva works. In the Śivārkamaṇi-dīpikā and Śivārcanacandrikā, Cinna Bomma is expressly mentioned as his benevolent patron. The latter work was written for the very purpose of initiating Cinna Bomma into the worship of Śiva. On the completion of the former work Cinna Bomma bathed the Dikṣita in a profuse shower of gold. The following references make clear the Dikṣita's connection with Cinna Bomma.

शिवार्कमणिदीपिकावसानलब्धकनकसनानः प्रशंसितस्समरपुङ्गवयज्वना
यथा—

हेमाभिषेकसमये परितो निषण्णसौवर्णसंहतिमिषाच्चिनबोम्मभूपः ।

अप्पय्यदीक्षितमणेनवद्यविद्याकल्पद्रुमस्य कुरुते कनकालवालम् ॥

—Nalacarita Nāṭaka of Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita.

नानादेशनरेन्द्रमण्डलमहायन्त्रातिदूरीभव-

त्वादाचित्कपदारविन्दविनतेरप्पय्ययज्वप्रभोः ।

शैवोत्कर्षपरिष्कृतैरहरहस्सूक्तैस्सुधालालितैः

कुल्लत्कर्णपुटस्य बोम्मनृपतेः पुण्यानि गण्यानि किम् ॥

—by another.

येन श्रीचिन्नबोम्मक्षितिपवलभिदः कीर्तिरव्याहताऽऽसीत् ।

—The Aḍaiyapalam inscription of 1582.

Possibly the bathing in gold was performed in or about 1582, and Appayya Dikṣita, as became a selfless devotee, utilised the gold for building a temple of Śiva in his birth place-soon after. The gist of the Aḍaiyapalam inscription is that Appayya Dikṣita built the temple of Kālakaṇṭheśvara at Aḍaiyapalam (the inscription itself is engraved on the walls of the temple) in 1582.

Appayya Dikṣita's last patron was Veṅkaṭapatideva Rāya of Penukoṇḍa who came to throne in 1585. In the Kuvalayānanda the concluding verse is as follows :—

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदपदीक्षितः ।

नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

There is a verse in his विधिरसायन containing a reference to King Veṅkaṭa—

प्राप्तं तत्प्रापणीयं किल यदिह कियान् पूरणीयोऽस्ति नांशो

नानिष्टं वानिर्वर्त्य निजविषयतया दृश्यते किञ्चिदत्र ।

किं तु व्यापारमेष प्रथयति फलसंयोजनार्थं परेषां

प्राप्तः पुण्यैरगण्यैरेव विबुधगणो वेङ्कटक्षोणिपालम् ॥

My great-grandfather, Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāju Śāstrigal of Mannārgudi, has commented upon this verse in his दीक्षितवंशाभरण, a small but very instructive prose work dealing with the life and doings of Appayya Dikṣita. He says that the indication is clear in the verse that the Dikṣita frequented the courts of kings not for any benefit for himself but for the benefit of others. In fact, the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita was introduced by Appayya Dikṣita to Veṅkaṭapati, in whose court the former lived for some time. Bhaṭṭoji was a pupil of Appayya Dikṣita and came all the way from Benares to study the Śāstras under him. He bows to his Guru in his तन्त्रसिद्धान्तदीपिका in these terms.

अप्ययदीक्षितेन्द्रानशेषविद्यागुरूनहं वन्दे ।

यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वद्विद्वद्भिमाजकोपाधी ॥

Bhaṭṭoji wrote Tattva Kaustubha at the instance of Veṅkaṭapati.

Bhaṭṭoji had already written his सिद्धान्तकौमुदी when he came to the south to study under Appayya Dikṣita whose fame and immortal works had spread by that time to the north. The verse of Appayya Dikṣita above quoted from विधिरसायन also indicates that the Dikṣita was ripe in age when he wrote it, with a strong tendency to retire from the affairs of the world. He had neither good to aspire for, nor evil to avert, but still for the sake of helping others he lingered on the प्रवृत्ति side of life, not un-willingly, because of his generous nature.

Thus about fifty years of Appayya Dikṣita's life can be clearly traced out as running concurrent with the lives of Cinna Timma, Cinna Bemma and Veṅkaṭapati. The remaining twenty-two years of his life (which acknowledgedly ran for a maximum of 72 years) must undoubtedly be assigned to his boyhood ; for,

when he first rose into fame, he should have at least passed his boyhood and reached adult age. It is not improper therefore to assume that he was about twenty-five or thirty years when his great scholarship was recognised by Cinna Timma, who thought fit to ask him to comment upon the Yādavābhyudaya in the midst of an assembly of eminent scholars. His date of birth must be such as would conveniently cover all the reigns of the three monarchs leaving a margin for the initial years of his making. As he wrote not less than two works in the era of Veṅkaṭapati, his life should have overlapped Veṅkaṭapati's reign by at least seven or eight years, especially as we know that the Dikṣita spent, in complete retirement, his last days at Chidambaram. In thus considering the probabilities, we may hazard that the Dikṣita could not have been born earlier than about 1520. The margin of the number of years of Dikṣita's life overlapping Veṅkaṭapati's reign could not be wider than seven or eight years, because the Dikṣita must have been at least twenty-five years old when he came into contact with Cinna Timma.

There is stronger evidence to show that his birth could not have been later than about 1520, and for this conclusion Śivānanda himself lends considerable light and logic. He mentions two royal patrons of the Dikṣita, Narasimha and Cinna Bomma and a contemporary, a King named Candraśekhara. With Chinna Bomma I have dealt at length. I now proceed to consider the historical identity of the other two. Though Śivānanda may be inaccurate in making Narasimha rule over Tanjore from about 1528 to about 1628, —He makes Cinna Bomma also rule at Vellore precisely for the same length of time— we may presume that some little historical truth is hidden beneath his traditional authority for the assertion. In the sketch of the political history of South India given already, I have mentioned some theories about Vira Narasimha of Tanjore. I do not think that I should repeat myself here at length. He was undoubtedly the imperial Governor of the Cōla Kingdoms from 1509 to 1530. After the latter date he revolted and was subdued by Acyuta in 1535. History does not tell us whether he was restored to his Governorship after that. But if any historical truth attaches to Śivānanda's mention of Narasimha being a most devoted and constant patron of the Dikṣita, it should be a welcome information to historians for the light which it throws upon the subsequent history of Cellappa alias Virā Narasimha. If the above suppositions are

correct, Narasimha was an earlier patron of the Dikṣita than Cinna Timma himself.

The Dikṣita's works on Alaṅkāra contain certain verses in praise of a "Nṛsiṃha". There is a tradition that the verses referring to Nṛsiṃha were the Dikṣita's own verses. I give them here below.

द्विर्भावः पुष्पकेतोर्विबुधविटपिनां पौनरुक्त्यं विकल्प-
 श्चिन्तारत्नस्य वीप्सा तपनतनुभुवो वासवस्य द्विरुक्तिः ।
 द्वैतं देवस्य दैत्याधिपमथनकलाकेलिकारस्य कुर्व-
 नानन्दं कोविदानां जगति विजयते श्रीनृसिंहक्षितीन्द्रः ॥
 नरसिंह धरानाथ के वयं तव वर्णने ।
 अपि राजानमाक्रम्य यशो यस्य विजृम्भते ॥
 नरसिंह महीपाल विदुस्त्वां मकरध्वजम् ॥
 मार्गणास्तव सञ्जाताः कथं सुमनसोऽन्यथा ॥

All these verses are found in Vidyādhara's Ekāvalī. So, they could not have been composed by Dikṣita, who flourished long after Vidyādhara.

According to Śivānanda, Narasimha attended the first sacrifice performed by Appayya Dikṣita at or near Chidambaram. He did not attend the Yajña from the first, but came for the अवभृथ after hearing of the miracle of the *paśus* visibly ascending to heaven in the Dikṣita's Yajña. In this biography this is the only context in which Narasimha has anything really to do with Appayya Dikṣita. But Śivānanda purposelessly (and unhistorically) drags in his name till the very end, always conventionally coupling him with Cinna Bomma. Much of the later life of Appayya Dikṣita was spent in the north and Narasimha was out of the question there. Moreover if the theory that this Vīra Narasimha is identical with the deposed Sāluva King, he could not have lived longer than 1545 as by that time he should have been very old.

Now I shall turn to Candrasekhara. Śivānanda mentions him as a patron of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dikṣita and as King of Aryāvarta, Poona, Orissa, Benares, Mithila, Marwada, etc. Those were the times of Baber and Humayun and the description is a sheer bombast. As a matter of fact there was a Pāṇḍyan King named Candrasekhara, mentioned already in the historical sketch

given above. Candraśekhara died in or about 1542. From the biography, it appears that Candraśekhara came to hear of the rising reputation of a young scholar named Appayya Dikṣita and playfully challenged the eminent scholars of his court to meet him in disputation. Ratnakheṭa accepted the challenge but eventually found no other means of making Appayya Dikṣita bow to him than by becoming his father-in-law. Thus Candraśekhara indirectly brings about the marriage of Appayya Dikṣita. It is likely that Appayya was about twenty years old when he married Ratnakheṭa's daughter Maṅgaḷanāyākī. It may be mentioned here that tradition accords with the foregoing inferences, that the fame of Appayya Dikṣita as a great scholar spread when he was no more than twenty years of age. My great-grand-father, in his दीक्षितवंशाभरण already, referred to, records that, before Appayya Dikṣita was twenty years old, his fame for learning spread far and wide, and that an aged poet named सार्वभौम sang thus in praise of him, having made a journey to see him.

बद्धस्पर्धान्यविद्वत्प्रमुखमुखपुटीमुद्रणोन्निद्रमेधा-

शिल्पिस्त्वामप्पयज्वन् कथय कथमिव द्रोघुमल्पाः प्रगल्भाः ।

क्रीडाचञ्चलपेटाहतकरटिघटाकुम्भकूटाधिरूढ-

प्रौढाटोपाय मूढाः किमु मृगपतये रोहिता द्रोहितारः ॥

It is very likely that Appayya became a Dikṣita early in life soon after his marriage. It may be interesting to refer here to a verse of his which reveals with what veneration and pride he held the distinction of being a performer of Yajñas. He thus refers to his ancestry—

विद्वद्भूरोर्विहितविश्वजिदध्वरस्य

श्रीसर्वतोमुखमहाव्रतयाजिसूनोः ।

श्रीरङ्गराजमखिनः श्रितचन्द्रमौलि-

रस्यप्पदीक्षित इति प्रथितस्तनूजः ॥

And Mīmāṃsā was his favourite subject. Hence I have no hesitation in inferring that he was married at about his twentieth year and he became a Dikṣita at about his twenty-fifth year. The two Kings mentioned by Śivānanda help us to fix this chronology in the Dikṣita's life. Candraśekhara was the unwitting cause of the Dikṣita's marriage with Ratnakheṭa's daughter and Narasimha attended upon the Dikṣita at his first Yajña. About his

occupations of learning Dikṣita himself is explicit as heretofore detailed.

From the foregoing investigations we have been logically led to the conclusion that the Dikṣita's life covered seventy-two years of the Sixteenth Century, the year of his birth being more removed from the commencement of the century than the year of his death was anterior to the end of the century.

There is a clue to the exact duration of his life in the Catus-ślokī-vyākhyā of my great-grand-father. He purports to quote from an old but lost biography of Appayya Dikṣita, the following tag of a verse. (He did not know of Śivānanda's biography, for Śivānanda himself was a younger contemporary of him.)

विक्रमे भूतलं प्राप्य विजये स्वर्गमाययौ ॥

This specifies a duration from 1520 to 1593 and the same date for Appayya Dikṣita happily accords with the conclusion above arrived at in the course of this paper from evidences purely historical and epigraphical.

TWO FORGOTTEN SANSKRIT DRAMAS

BY

MR. R. RAMAMURTI, M.A.

I

The Kṛtyārāvaṇa.

The Kṛtyārāvaṇa is one of the many plays that have dramatised the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. References to this drama are found in abundance in the Abhinavabhāratī, Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Bhāvaprakāśa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Vakroktijīvitā. These extracts, though silent on the name of the dramatist, yet equip us with materials sufficient to reconstruct the plot of the drama. There is also adequate evidence to fix its date with approximate accuracy. The materials gathered so far can be arranged as follows.

The extracts from the Kṛtyārāvaṇa are as follows :—

“विशेष्यपदमन्वेष्यम्, समुदाय एव विशेष्यः इति श्रीशङ्कुः
उदाहरति च कृत्यारावणे षष्ठेऽङ्के गर्भसन्धौ नेपथ्ये—

“हा अय्युत्त परिताहि”

प्रतीहारी—(श्रुत्वा आत्मगतम्) अहो भट्टिणी सिंह अवखन्दति । (प्रकाशम्)
भवदा अन्दे उरो महन्दो कलकलो सुणीअदि ।

राजा—ज्ञायतां किमेतदिति ।

अत्र रावणस्य आशङ्का प्रतीहार्याः त्रासमये

Vol. ii. P. 523—24. A. Bhāratī.

धन्यास्ते कृतिनः श्लाघ्यास्तेषाञ्च जन्मनो वृत्तिः ।

यैरुज्जितात्मकार्यैस्तेषामर्थाः प्रसाध्यन्ते ॥

Vol. ii. P. 501. A. Bhāratī.

यथा कृत्यारावणे—

प्रविश्य खड्गहस्तः सप्रहारः पुरुषः इत्यतः प्रभृति यावदसौ निष्क्रान्तः,
वस्तूनां बहूनां उत्थापनं प्रसङ्गात् यतो निबन्धनम्, यत्र कार्ये तत्तथोक्तम्,

तत्रैवांशभेदातिष्ठयमाणायां मन्दोदर्या भयम्, अङ्गदस्योत्साहम्, रावणं दृष्ट्वा
“एतेनापि सुरा स्थिता” इत्यादि वदतो हासः, रावणस्यापि क्रोधः, “यस्तातेन
निगृह्य बालक इव प्रक्षिप्य कक्षान्तरे” इति वदतोऽङ्गदस्य जुगुप्साहासविषयरसाः,
“विध्वंसयन्नादयति” इत्यत्र रावणस्य शोकः, इत्येवं विद्रवाश्रयं यस्तूपस्थानं
तद्विपरीतं तु तत्रैव द्वितीयेऽङ्के ।

“नेपथ्ये कलकलः” इत्यतः प्रभृति यावत्सीतां प्रति रावणस्योक्तिः
“आलोकपालानां क्रन्दसि” इत्यादि भाविनो वस्तुनः समुत्थापनादपीदं तथोक्तं
तत्रैव ऋषीणामुक्तिः “दुरात्मनेयं सीता स्वनाशाय हियते” इति ।

Vol. iii. P. 13. A. Bhārati.

यथा कृत्यारावणे गौतमीरूपच्छन्ना रामाक्रन्दितं लक्ष्मणे श्रावयितुकामा
शूर्पणखा पूर्वमाह—

शूर्पणखा—अयि सुदते !

सीता—अये ! किं ततः ?

शूर्पणखा—(स्वगतं?) सा अवस्तुते सत्यं गौतमीमेव मामियं सीता जानात्विति ।

Vol. iii. P. 40. A. Bhārati.

विशेषकं यथा कृत्यारावणे—“हा भ्रातर्लक्ष्मण ! परित्रायस्व मां परित्रायस्व”
इति श्रुत्वा सीतावेषधारिणी शूर्पणखा समुपागता । तस्याञ्च मूढायाम्—

लक्ष्मणः—आर्ये ! समाश्वसिहि, समाश्वसिहि ।

शूर्पणखा—(अक्षीणि निमील्य सक्रोधं सभयञ्च) आ अणय्य अज्जवि तुमचिह्वा-
सि एव्व । अहो दाणीसितुमनिसं सो णिस्सिणेहो अचिह्दु दाव भादु
असिणेहो कहंलः स्वीयकुलसम्भवेण महारवात्ति एण भविअ । एवं पवासि-
दंणं भण । अदि किं पुण अय्यउत्तो ?

लक्ष्मणः—आर्ये ! ननु त्वदर्थ एव आर्यपुत्रेण स्थापितोऽस्मि ।

शूर्पणखा—एणं मम अत्थो कदोहादि । एहञ्च अहं परिरब्धा होमिति ।

Vol. ii. P. 472. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

कृत्यारावणे विमानस्थो रावणः मदादाह—

अमराः समराभिमानमुत्सृज्य तिष्ठति रिपौ न हि मेऽस्ति वैरम् ।

स्वस्थोऽरुणव्रजविकृष्टखलीनपाशः प्रेष्येषु किं दशशिराः प्रहिणोति शस्त्रम् ॥

Vol ii. P. 487. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

अवपातनं यथा कृत्यारावणे षष्ठेऽङ्के-“प्रविश्य सखिहस्तः पुरुषः”
इत्यतः प्रभृति निष्क्रामणपर्यन्तम्

P. 311. Sāhityadarpaṇa.

The bit quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī, “दुरात्मनेयं सीता स्वनाशाय द्वियते”, occurring in the second Act, is significant, since it throws some light on the plot of the opening act. If the grim prophecy about Rāvaṇa's destruction appears in the second Act, necessarily the first Act should have covered the story prior to the abduction of Sītā. Of course it is impossible to cover in a single act the story till Sītā's abduction; hence we may infer that like Śaktibhadra's “Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi” the drama perhaps began with the history of exiled Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā.

Many dramatists have materially altered the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The author of the Kṛtyārāvaṇa seems to have used this device. It is well known that Rāma, in compliance with the request of his beloved spouse, chases the golden deer, and that Mārīca, imitating Rāma's voice, utters in a plaintive cry, when his life is passing away, the name of Lakṣmaṇa. The dramatist seems to have modified the story of the Rāmāyaṇa here. Śūrpaṇakhā, after hearing this appeal for aid, is represented in the drama, as having disguised herself as Gautamī and hurried to Lakṣmaṇa to inform him of the “Rāmākrandana” or the piteous wail of Rāma. Śūrpaṇakhā artfully opens conversation with Sītā. Innocent Sītā mistakes her for Gautamī, and Lakṣmaṇa is lulled into the belief that Sītā is conversing with the venerable wife of Agastya.

What transpired next we do not know. Probably Śūrpaṇakhā, by her witchcraft, renders Sītā invisible to Lakṣmaṇa and takes the form of Sītā. Śūrpaṇakhā now pretends to be in a swoon, as a consequence of the unbearable distress of Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa unaware of the mysterious necromancy, solaces her. Śūrpaṇakhā imitates to perfection the tone of Sītā and commands Lakṣmaṇa, in stinging words that lacerate his heart, to go forth in aid of his brother. We see here a material deviation from the original source, the Rāmāyaṇa. A calm and dispassionate reading of the Rāmāyaṇa will convince any literary critic that the magnanimous, reasonable, sweet and serene Sītā, in this particular portion, has certainly lost her usual mental equipoise and balanced judgment.

The harsh words that she hurls like thunderbolts on the devoted head of dutiful Lakṣmaṇa hardly befit her sweet and compassionate soul. Really such a cannonade of words is becoming only a demon. The dramatist, with a critically imaginative eye, saw this weak point, and sought to remove it by making Śūrpaṇakhā responsible for such bombshells in the shape of words. This departure from the Rāmāyaṇa is really of arresting interest to a student of literature, and the drama shines with added lustre, through such an ingenious modification.

The rest of the plot can be easily imagined since the extracts are plain. The drama ends with the death of Rāvaṇa and the enthronement of Rāma.

The Kṛtyārāvaṇa seems to be a finished dramatic production. Śāradātanaya gives this as an example of सम्पूर्णनाटक.

पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ।

समग्रमिति विज्ञेया नाटकाः पञ्च जातयः ॥

पूर्णस्य नाटकस्यास्य मुखाद्याः पञ्च सन्धयः ।

उदाहरणमेतस्य कृत्यारावणमुच्यते ॥

P. 245. Bhāvaprakāśa.

There are some extracts which furnish us with information about the prominent characteristics of the play; and they are these :—

वृत्तीनाञ्च विनियोगसमुच्चयविकल्पैः वृत्त्यङ्गानाञ्च बहवो रूपकभेदा भवन्ति । तेषां परं कोहलादिभिः नाममात्रं प्रणीतम् । मुद्राराक्षसस्य कैशिकीहीनस्य कृत्यारावणस्य च नाटकस्य दर्शनात् । वेणीसंहारे सात्वत्यारभटीमात्रं दृश्यत इति केचित् ।

Vol. ii. P. 444. A. Bhārati.

अद्भुतं पुनरिदं यत्सारस्वतसंविधानकनिबन्धनलक्षण.....साक्षरेण नाम्ना सुनिवेश्यते यथा अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल-मुद्राराक्षस-प्रतिमाऽनिरुद्ध-मायापुष्पक-कृत्यारावण-छलितराम-पुष्पदूषितकादीनि नामानि ।

P. 225. Vakroktijīvitam.

यथा एकस्यामेव दाशरथिकथायाम् रामाभ्युदय-उदात्तराघव-वीरचरित-बालरामायण-कृत्यारावण-मायापुष्पकप्रभृतयः । ते हि प्रबन्धप्रवराः कथामार्गेण

निरर्गलसासारगर्भसन्दर्भसम्पदा प्रतिपदं, प्रतिवाक्यम्, प्रतिप्रकरणं च
प्रकाशमानाभिनवभङ्गी.....अतिरेकमनेकशो आखाद्यमाना अपि समुत्पाद-
यन्ति सहृदयानाममन्दमानन्दम् ।

P. 226. Vakroktijīvitam.

माया यथा—देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते चन्द्रगुप्तस्य कृतकोन्माद इति मानुषी माया ।
कृत्यारावणादिषु कनकमृगादिरचनात्मिका(त्) अमानुषी ।

Vol. iii. P. 483. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

The “Kaiśikivṛtti” is a vehicle for the portrayal of the erotic sentiment. Harsh sounds like the cerebrals should be avoided. Sweet melodious sounds should be harmoniously knit up. Since the kaiśikivṛtti has been omitted, we are led to think that the drama may have a high-strung martial tone. In fact the verses that are found in the sixth Act of the play, where Aṅgada and Rāvaṇa thunder against each other in anger, constitute sufficient evidence as to the martial tone of the drama.

The title is significant. “Kṛtyā” means witchcraft; and since in this play witchcraft and Rāvaṇa play a prominent part, the drama appropriately goes by the name “Kṛtyārāvaṇa.”

Kuṇṭaka includes the Kṛtyārāvaṇa among a few “Rāma-plays” that offer endless satisfaction and ineffable pleasure to a critical reader. If such a shrewd and discriminating critic as Kuṇṭaka is lost in admiration of this drama, it goes without saying that it should really be of an excellent type.

Now let us fix the date of the drama. We find from the Abhinavabhāratī that Śrī Śaṅkuka quotes from the Kṛtyārāvaṇa in illustration of his statement.

“विशेष्यपदमन्वेष्यम् समुदाय एव विशेष्यः” ।

This extract leads us to infer that the drama in question is prior to Śaṅkuka. As far as we know, Śaṅkuka is the oldest writer to quote from the Kṛtyārāvaṇa; hence the date of Śaṅkuka forms one determinant of that of the Kṛtyārāvaṇa.

Śaṅkuka's date is known. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī refers to him thus :—

अथ मम्मोत्पलकयोरुदभूदारुणो रणः ।
रुद्धप्रवाहा यत्रासीद्वितस्ता समटैर्हतैः ॥
कविर्बुधमनःसिन्धुशशाङ्कः शङ्कुकाभिधः ।
यमुद्दिश्याकरोत्काव्यं भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

IV Taraṅga. Verses 704-705 Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

The date of this bloody feud has been fixed as 840. A. D.; hence it follows that Śaṅkuka flourished in the same time.

No further evidence is found to fix the upper limit of the date of the Kṛtyārāvaṇa. All that we can now say is that it preceded Śaṅkuka, who lived about 840. A. D.

The Pārthavijaya.

The Pārthavijaya is a drama, the exploits of Arjuna forming its subject-matter. There is no mention of the author's name in the only two extracts we have in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa; and perhaps he would have been tenanted the limbo of oblivion, but for the reference by Rājaśekhara. One of his appreciative couplets about poets and their productions, refers to Trilocana and his work the Pārthavijaya. The couplet runs thus :—

कर्तुं वि (त्रि) लोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थशक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥

S. Muktāvalī, V. 33.

Through some scribal error the name Trilocana has been changed into "Vilocana." A reading of the verse will show the incongruity if we accept the reading "Vilocana." The poet wants to pun on the word "Trilocana." The meaning is—how can we two-eyed beings understand the meaning of the Pārthavijaya, the composition of (literally) the three-eyed. The delectation or चमत्कार is entirely lost, if the reading is "Vilocana."

There is perhaps also another idea enmeshed in this couplet. It shows that no other than the three-eyed Lord can defeat Arjuna in the field of battle. Perhaps the fight between Arjuna and Lord Śiva also forms a part of the plot of the drama.

Sufficient data there are to fix Trilocana's date with a fair degree of certainty. That Trilocana preceded Rājaśekhara can be easily inferred from the latter's appreciative couplet. This

then forms the lower limit of Trilocana's date. A reference to the Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara helps us a little more.

Two verses are ascribed to Trilocana under the chapter विशिष्टकविप्रशंसा, wherein Mayūra and Bāṇa are praised. The verses referred to run as follows—

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।

भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥

तावत्कविविहङ्गानां ध्वनिर्लोकेषु शस्यते ।

यावन्नो विशति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनिः ॥

त्रिलोचनस्यैतौ P. 30. V. 186-87. Ś. Paddhati.

Mayūra is, if we accept the traditional account, the father-in-law of Bāṇa; hence the date of Bāṇa forms the other determinant of Trilocana's date. Thus the period of Trilocana's literary activity is hedged in on either side with the dates of Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara. Trilocana should have flourished in the intervening period.

There is another way by which we can independently fix the date of Trilōcana. Vācaspatimiśra, in the प्रत्यक्षसूत्र of the न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, refers to one Naiyāyika Trilocana as his teacher, thus—

“त्रिलोचनगुरुस्त्रीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः” ।

It is a well-known fact that Vācaspatimiśra flourished in 841 A. D. So if the poet Trilocana should be identical with Vācaspati's teacher, he should be assigned to the first half of the ninth century.

The plot of the drama seems to be this. Envious Duryodhana, inflamed at the prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas at Indra-prastha, tries to reduce them to grinding poverty by certain subterranean devices. He defeats them in the game of gambling, and the Pāṇḍavas, without protest, meekly go to the forest. Once Duryodhana, to parade his royal pomp and splendour before the Pāṇḍavas reduced to poverty, enters the forest. In the forest the Gandharvas molest him and Duryodhana has to fight with them to vindicate his power. In the battle he is not only defeated but also captured and tied to a pillar. Arjuna, who then

accidentally happens to pass by sees the ridiculous position of his kinsman. His manly courage swells up, and in the fight that ensues the Gandharvas are vanquished and Duryodhana liberated. The following is the conversation between Arjuna and Duryodhana, smarting under the cruel kindness of a declared foe :—

तत्र पुंसो द्वीर्यथा---पार्थविजये गन्धर्वैः पराजित्य बद्धस्य अर्जुन-
विक्रममोचितस्य दुर्योधनस्य । तत्र हि—

अर्जुनः—

न चास्मिन्काले पाण्डवेनाहूत इति मनसि सम्भावनीयम्; यस्मादभिन्न-
मेव आर्ययुधिष्ठिरमहाराजमवगच्छामो विशेषतः अस्मिन् काले । पश्यतु
महाराजः—

स्वैर्वैरैः कुरुपाण्डवान्तरकृतो यस्मिन्विशेषोऽस्ति नः

तस्मिन्स्तत्किमसाधु....मित्यार्याविजानन्ति यत् ।

यत्रैकाभिजनान्वये त्वभिभवः क्षत्रस्य तस्मिन्पुनः

भ्रातृणां पुरतोऽभियोगसमये पञ्चोत्तरं नः शतम् ॥

दुर्योधनः—(सवैलक्ष्यम् आत्मगतम्) हृदय ! शिक्षयोत्तरम् । कथमिवैनमालपामि ।

भ्राताहमित्यसदृशं मम दुष्कृतैस्तै-

र्द्वेष्टा भवानिति तदत्र दशाविरुद्धम् ।

यदि ब्रवीमि वचनं लघु तत्तु तत्र

कामं भवेच्छरणमप्रतिपत्तिरेव ॥

Vol. ii. P. 483. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Duryodhana does not feel grateful towards the Pāṇḍavas for this act of mercy. His hatred towards them grows inveterate. Arjuna in the meanwhile satisfies Lord Śiva by his terrible penance. Lord Śiva highly pleased bestows on him the infallible missile, Pāśupata. Time rolls on but yet Duryodhana remained un-yielding. Yudhiṣṭhira wants to avoid war and bloodshed. He sends Kṛṣṇa to act as an intermediary. Kṛṣṇa too tries to persuade Duryodhana with his sweet words to give the Pāṇḍavas five plots of land and thus avert a terrible war. The following is Kṛṣṇa's address to Duryodhana.

अथ सन्ध्यन्तराणि एकविंशतिः । तद्यथा--साम--भेद--दण्ड--प्रदान....
 तत्र साम यथा--पार्थविजये भगवान्वासुदेवः दौत्येन गतः दुर्योधनमाह—
 “क्षीरोदादमृतद्युतिः क्षितिभुजां वंशस्ततो भारतः
 [सोऽयं] श्लाघ्यगुणश्च किञ्च बहुना यत्नोद्भवस्तादृशाम्” इत्यादि ।

Vol. ii. P. 480. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Duryodhana remains adamant. War breaks out with the result that the Pāṇḍavas win.

Thus these two significant extracts show the plot of the drama and as regards its date, as has been observed at the outset, it should have been written in the former part of the ninth century.

TANTRASIDDHĀNTADĪPIKĀ

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.

MYLAPORE.

Some scholars ¹ believe that the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, a treatise on Pūrva mīmāṃsā, is a production of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, the renowned grammarian of the 17th century. This belief is not without foundation. There is a tradition² in South India regarding the authorship of the above work. Appayya Dikṣita, the great author of over hundred works dealing with various branches of learning, was living in a place near Chidambaram. When Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita came on a pilgrimage to the south, he had an opportunity to meet Appayya Dikṣita and requested him to teach the Pūrva and the Uttara mīmāṃsā. This request was granted. On the eve of his departure, Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita was instructed by his guru Appayya Dikṣita to write treatises on Pūrva and Uttara mīmāṃsās. To fulfil the desire of his guru, Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita wrote two works, one on Pūrva mīmāṃsā called Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā and the other on Uttara mīmāṃsā named Tattva Kaustubha. We find the following verse at the beginning of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā paying homage to Appayya Dikṣita :—

अप्यदीक्षितेन्द्रानशेषविद्यागुरूनहं वन्दे ।

यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वद्विद्वद्विभाजकोपाधी ॥

This tradition about the authorship of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is not based on fact. A careful perusal of the work would show that it should not be fathered upon Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita.

1. A. C. Burnell, Ph. D. A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace at Tanjore, p. 85 A. VIII. G. Oppert. List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries of South India. Vol. II. pp. 5385, 5621, 7381, 7875, 9463. Theoder Aufrecht. Catalogus Catalogorum. Vol. I. p. 223.

2. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri's Introduction in Sanskrit to the Śivalīlāṇavakāvyā. Vani Vilas edition, pp. 5-7. (1911).

We find the author of the work in question referring¹ to his 'पितामहचरण' revered grandfather, and to his view about संस्कार-विधि. In two other places² he refers to the same view as दीक्षितमत. From the statement³ made by the author at page 451, we are able to understand that the view above referred to as दीक्षितमत is contained in the Vidhirasāyana. दीक्षितमत in the Pūrva and Uttara mīmāṃsās at least, if not in other darśanas as well, is generally understood to be the view of Appayya Dikṣita. All these facts put together warrant the conclusion that the दीक्षित referred to in the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is no other than the famous Appayya Dikṣita who entertained the opinion⁴ that the secondary signification of अपूर्वसाधनत्व need not be recognised in the case of saṁskāra-vidhi and that he is the grandfather of the author of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā.

Moreover the colophons,⁵ in the work under consideration, uniformly read that the author is Appayya Dikṣita grandson of Āccā Dikṣita, brother of Appayya Dikṣita and is the son of Appayya Dikṣita. According to Vīrarāghavakavi the author's real name seems to be Cinnappaya⁶ and he is the 3rd son of Nārāyaṇa Dikṣita the first son of Āccā Dikṣita and the adopted son of Appayya Dikṣita, the second son of Āccā Dikṣita.

1. यत्त्वस्मत्पितामहचरणानां दर्शनं संस्कारवाक्यस्थवीह्यादिपदे लक्षणैव नास्ति । आनर्थ-
क्यशङ्का त्वर्थलभ्यापूर्वीयत्वेनैवेति, यवसाधारण्यं तु धर्माणामपेक्षासामर्थ्यरूपाल्लिङ्गादिति । p. 451,
MSS. of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā in the Adyar Library.

2. दीक्षितमतेनापूर्वीयलक्षणानङ्गीकारात् सम्मार्गस्य न चमसेषु प्रसक्तिरिति स्फुटतरमेव ।
Ibid. pp. 484-5.

दीक्षितमते भवदभिमतपूर्वीयलक्षणया सामानविध्ये प्राप्ते तदभावादसमानविधानमित्येव
सिद्धान्त इति शुद्धः प्रन्थाः । *Ibid.* p. 818.

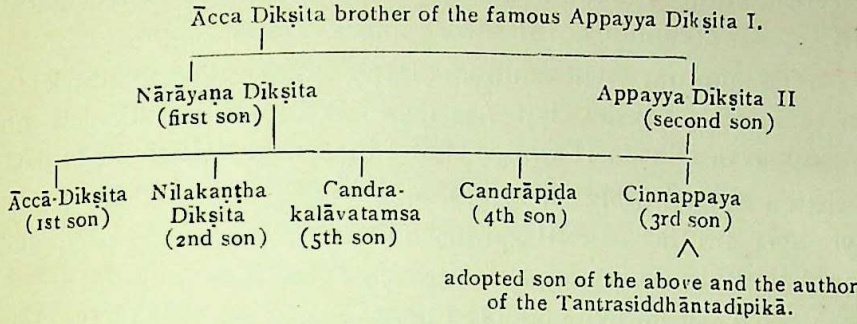
3. यद्वा प्रचीनसिद्धान्तप्राप्तापूर्वीयत्वावच्छेदे दोषत्वप्रसक्तौ विधिरसायनादिदर्शितरीत्यैव
लक्षणं प्रतिक्षिप्य ब्रीहित्वेनैव शेषत्वं: *Ibid.* p. 451.

4. *Vide* pp. 148—167. Vidhirasāyana (Chowkhamba edition.)
Benares.)

5. इति श्रीभरद्वाजजलधिकौस्तुभश्रीकण्ठमतप्रतिष्ठापनाचार्यचतुरधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्माणधुरन्धर-
श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितसोदर्यश्रीमदाच्चादीक्षितपौत्रेण अलङ्कारतिलकरुक्मिणीपरिणयाद्यनेकप्रबन्धनिर्मातुर-
प्पय्यदीक्षितस्य पुत्रेण दुरुहशिक्षाकृता भूमिदेवीनन्दनेन अप्पय्यदीक्षितेन विरचितायां..... ।

6. यो नारायणदीक्षितानुजवरा योऽप्पय्यनाम्नोऽभवद्भक्तोऽप्पा (य्या) मखिनोऽनुजः कविवर-
श्चिन्नप्पयाख्यः सुधीः (वीराघवकृता आच्चान्दीक्षितवंशावली. verse 119.)

The following table shows that the author of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is the grandson of Appayya Dikṣita I.



This identification happily fits in with the fact mentioned in the colophons of the MSS. of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, that the author is भूमिदेवीनन्दन son of Bhūmidevī. Bhūmidevī is known to us as the mother of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita from his own verse.¹

One of the objects which the author had in view in writing the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā seems to be to criticise the views of Navya Mīmāṃsakas who criticised the views of Appayya Dikṣita. One or two passages may be cited here by way of illustration.

नव्यास्तु, शास्त्रार्थनेष्टसाधन[ता]ज्ञानजन्येच्छाविषयत्वं स्वयंप्रार्थितत्वं तदुद्देशेन विहितत्वं पुरुषार्थत्वं ज्योतिष्टोम-उद्भिदादि-साधारणं, स्वयम्प्रार्थित-त्वमिच्छोद्देशेन विहितत्वं क्रत्वर्थत्वं इति । उद्देश्यविधेयत्वे चात्र स्वरूपसम्बन्ध-विशेषात्मके विवक्षिते ; न तु सत्यत्वा[साध्यत्वा]नुष्ठेयत्वात्मके । तेन नरका-भावोद्देशेन निवृत्तिविधानात् निषेधस्थले नाव्याप्तिरित्याहुः । तदुपेक्ष्यम् ।
(p. 922. MSS. of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, Adyar Library.)

प्रयोजनं तु नव्यैरुक्तं, पूर्वपक्षे वाजिनयागस्यार्थकर्मत्वेन समप्रधानतया आमिक्षायागाङ्गत्वाभावेन तद्विकृतिषु नातिदेशः, सिद्धान्ते तु आमिक्षानुनिष्पन्न-द्रव्यप्रतिपत्तिरूपतद्यागत्वेन आमिक्षायागविकृतिषु अतिदेश इति तदुपेक्ष्यम् ।
Ibid. p. 963.

In these extracts, the author unmistakably presupposes Khaṇḍadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā. (*Vide* pp. 82 and 95 Vol. II Mysore edition of Bhāṭṭadīpikā.)

1. तेषामहं द्वितीयोऽस्मि भूमिदेवीतनूभुवाम् । (गङ्गावतरणकाव्यं, कथावतारसर्गः verse 50.)

From the observation¹ made by the author in the Citrādhikaraṇa, it is clear that he has also written 'दुरुहशिक्षा'² a treatise on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. This fact is also corroborated by several colophons of the work under consideration.

To sum up: The author of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is not Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, but Appayya Dīkṣita III the adopted son of Appayya Dīkṣita II who is stated in several colophons to have written रुक्मिणीपरिणय, अलङ्कारतिलक and other works. He is the younger brother of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita the famous poet, and probably also younger contemporary of Khaṇḍa-Deva.³

That our author's adopted father Appayya Dīkṣita II wrote रुक्मिणीपरिणय can be inferred with certainty from the prologue to the Nalacaritrānāṭaka of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.⁴

1. एवं पृष्ठत्राक्येऽपि । तत्र पक्षान्तरनिराकरणं दुरुहशिक्षायां द्रष्टव्यम् । (p. 108. MSS. of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, Adyar Library.)

The same work is referred to at page 824.

2. This work is intended to set at nought the views of navya-mīmāṃsakas who maintain the soundness of Kumārila's definitions of three kinds of injunctions and to reaffirm Appayya Dīkṣita's criticisms in the Vidhiraśāyana. This दुरुहशिक्षा is different from another work of the same title, a copy of which is in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

3. On page 449 of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā there is a reference to a Nilakaṇṭhakavi who is referred to as 'अस्मत्पुत्र' our son. If the famous Nilakaṇṭha-Dīkṣita is meant there, it would be absurd on the part of the author to call him "our son". In Dīkṣita's family as known to us from Appayya Dīkṣita down to Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, there is nobody who could call Appayya Dīkṣita "our grandfather" and Nilakaṇṭha-Dīkṣita "our son." So two alternative possibilities may be suggested here : Either पुत्र must be a scribble error for भ्रातृ, or some Nilakaṇṭha Kavi other than the famous one is meant. Other writers and works mentioned by our author are :—केशव (pp. 271, 375 and 329), श्रीकण्ठीय (p. 404) केशवकोश (p. 259) मयूखावली (pp. 111 and 132), and तर्कताण्डव (p. 624).

4. सूत्रधारः—नवनिर्वर्तितं नलचरित्रं नाम नाटकम् । कविरपि तस्य जगद्विदित एव ।
परिपार्श्वकः—आः ! स रुक्मिणीपरिणयस्यापि प्रणेता ।

सूत्रधारः—(विहस्य) न हि न हि । अस्य खलु पितृव्योऽयमप्ययदीक्षितो नाम सरसकवितासाम्राज्यसर्वभौमस्तत्प्रणेता । अयं तु मुकुन्दविलासस्य काव्यस्य निबन्धा ।
Nalacaritrānāṭaka, Balamanorama press edition, p. 3.)

NEW LIGHT ON DREAM-PSYCHOLOGY.*

BY

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(From Upaniṣadic Sources.)

In the course of my paper submitted to the Psychology section of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore, I had endeavoured to criticise the Freudian hypothesis relating to the interpretation of dreams from the standpoint of Upaniṣadic psychology. I followed up the investigation and in my second paper on the subject contributed to the psychology section of the Science Congress held at Calcutta early this year, I examined the theory of dreams advanced by the late lamented Dr. Rivers, F.R.S., and discussed the significance of several Upaniṣadic passages dealing with the problem of dreams and their interpretation. In the present paper, I shall submit to a critical examination some of the recent theories of dreams and indicate that the Upaniṣadic hypothesis is by far saner, safer, and more systematic than most of the theories that have been put forward from time to time ever since the problem of dreams and their interpretation was handled in the West with a thorough grasp and a firm grip by Freud and others.

A PRELIMINARY DIFFICULTY.

It is impossible to overlook a preliminary difficulty that is bound to confront an investigator of the problem of dreams in the light of Upaniṣadic psychology. In the West, investigation of dream phenomena has been undertaken by medical men who are also fully and perfectly conversant with the theory of Psychology, its method, problems and general outlook. Psychoanalysis has come to stay in the West. How far the psychoanalyst has practically succeeded in effecting cures of mental abnormalities, it is not possible to dogmatise on, but the difficulty is that an investigation of a pre-eminently psychological problem

* To be read at the Psychology section of the forthcoming session of the Science Congress, to be held at Madras in 1929.

by medical men and women often fails to render adequate justice to the psychological facts and implications. The value of psycho-therapy is great and undoubted. Psychiatry has definitely and indissolubly allied itself with psychology. Notwithstanding the gradual and even inevitable shading off into one another of the problems of the medical persons and psychologists at a certain stage, I mean a borderland-stage, of investigation, I think it is absolutely indispensable, in the interests of psychology proper and those of a methodological quest after pronouncedly psychological data and their interpretation, to investigate how much of a given mental abnormality can properly be attributed to purely psychical phenomena and how much to others—non-psychical ones, understanding the term in its widest meaning. A medical man studying dream-phenomena maintains that a particular dream is sure to produce a tonic-effect or a depressing reaction on an individual. But the fundamental problem for the psychologist is to ascertain all about the psychological structure and function of a given dream without allowing himself to be sidetracked into any medical discussions, diagnosis etc. Western theories of dreams suffer from this disability in a pointed manner. In formulating a theory of dreams, western psychologists ogle at Medicoes while the latter reciprocate. The disinterested interest in psychological inquiry untrammelled by extra-psychological considerations suffers thereby. I am aware, some psychologists of late have questioned if at all such a disinterested outlook would advance psychological research. In any theory of dream-psychology, I think it obligatory on the part of the investigator to keep apart psychological, and other-psychological, like the medical, considerations. Freud, Adler, Jung and others in the West were expert medical men, and in the study of dreams and interpretation of abnormal conduct, Adler in particular advocated and defended the theory of organ-inferiority. I cite all this in support of the preliminary difficulty pointed out by me in keeping data, medical and psychological, separate and in not confusing the medical with the psychological interpretation.

A CRITIC OF UPANISADIC THEORY.

Even though distinguished Orientalists have in the past directed their attention to a study of Sanskrit Literature dealing with prose, poetry, drama and philosophy in general and devoted their energies to chronological research in particular, no one has so far made a special study of the dream-problem and its solution

attempted by the Upaniṣadic seers, either in India or in the West. I sent an account of my investigations of the Upaniṣadic texts to Mr. John. T. MacCurdy, M. D. Hopkins. M. A., (Cantab) Lecturer in psychopathology in the Cambridge University. The following is the full text of the letter he was kind enough to write to me. "Many thanks for your letter of the 10th January and the enclosed report of your dream paper. The latter interests me greatly. I quite agree with you that the simple wish-fulfilment hypothesis or that of mere conflict is inadequate and that a more inclusive theory is needed. The Upaniṣadic view is satisfactory in its breadth but it seems to me to be of doubtful psychological utility because it is so negative. It claims merely lack of waking control in the production of dreams. It is true that you say the unbridled creative unconscious is at work, but the combinations of the Vāsanās seem to be purely haphazard according to your view. So far as your formulations go there is nothing to account for the sense that many dreams do show or for the sense that others may reveal on analysis. It seems to me that although we may admit a relaxation of waking control—and are forced to do so—we cannot begin to understand dreams until we know something about the laws which govern the combination of images in the unconscious. That is the crux of the problem. Yours Truly—(Sd.) J. T. MacCurdy."

With the point of view of investigation suggested in the foregoing letter, I examined some typical and representative Upaniṣadic texts and the results are embodied in the succeeding paragraphs. Before I discuss the texts let me offer a few critical remarks on Mr. MacCurdy's own theory of dreams, a theory which affords a striking illustration of the difficulty, to which I made a reference, of keeping separate clinical and psychological data, difficulty, failure to overcome which has adversely affected MacCurdy's own theory of dreams.

Suppose the crux of the problem of dreams lies in the combination of the images of the Unconscious. What are the laws according to which they combine? Prof. MacCurdy has not himself formulated any law that would appear to him to determine, regulate, and govern the combination of dream-imagery. Not merely that. His general theory of dreams described and defended in his work entitled "The Psychology of Emotion: Morbid and Normal" (Kegan Paul, 1925) can hardly be accepted as adequate to do justice to all facts and rationalised fancies of

dream-existence. I shall quote his typical explanation of the origin of dreams. "I am going to regard dreams as recurrent psychoses that expose from time to time processes of thought otherwise unconscious, that have been operating unseen before and that will continue to do so again". "I shall be treating dreams in the same way as we have the symptoms of manic-depressive insanity." "Emotions, neurotic symptoms, delusions, and dreams, are all products of thinking hidden from normal awareness." (P. 480.) Dreams even as neurotic symptoms are due to irruption into conscious life of something that is not consciously willed.

My contention is that a view like this is not psychologically more advanced than the Upaniṣadic one. Lines of thinking are hidden from normal awareness. True. But when and under what circumstances do these esoteric and buried lines of submerged thinking "irrupt" into the focus of consciousness. Are there any laws or observed uniformities that govern the "irruption?" If so what are they? Prof. MacCurdy who rightly complains that the crux of the dream-problem has not yet been properly grasped has not himself formulated the laws of combinations of dream-imagery. I have no desire to indulge in any cheap tit for tat! I miss formulation of the laws of the combination of the Unconscious images projected into the dream-structure in his work. Let that alone.

To put the question direct—why is Prof. MacCurdy so anxious to study dreams on the analogy drawn from manic-depressive insanity? Janet and others might have endeavoured to bring all emotions within the clutches of psychopathological processes. That is hardly sufficient justification why the analogy drawn from manic-depressive insanity should be the guiding factor in a psychological study or investigation of the dream-problem. I venture to suggest that a pre-eminently medical mentality is responsible for that attitude of Prof. MacCurdy and the methodological approach to the problem of dreams dictated and determined by that attitude. Why should it be assumed that while in the dream-state we are abnormal, only not so abnormal as a manic-depressive patient? Dreams, sleep dreamless, and waking states may all be regarded as sharing the same normality. MacCurdy appears to indicate a reciprocal relationship more or less. A study of dreams helps a better understanding of neurotic mentality while a study of the latter

helps a better understanding of the former. But the Upaniṣads never take the point that dreams are to be studied and interpreted in the light of or in the same way as symptoms in manic-depressive insanity. What is perhaps the most acute difficulty which I feel—and others are bound to feel it too—relates to the “why” of the irruption of the unconscious images into conscious thought. It may be contended in reply that the “why” of things can never be answered. Seeing however that such an irruption from the weird and outlandish realm of the Unconscious of images, thoughts, emotions, volitions into the focus of consciousness is the life-breath of MacCurdy's hypothesis, one is entitled to expect some light on the “why” and the “wherefore” of such an irruption.

II

RECENT THEORIES IN THE WEST.

In a chapter on “Recent Theories of Dreams” H. L. Hollingworth, Ph. D., of the Columbia University has examined some theories of dreams (1926—Psychology of Thought, approached through studies of sleeping and dreaming.—D. Appleton.) He refers to the classical interpretation of Freud. I criticised the wish-fulfilment theory in my paper to the Science Congress of 1927. He refers also to the theory of Dr. Rivers which I examined last year in the light of the Upaniṣadic Psychology. To Horton a dream-process is a “trial perception” *i. e.* an attempted response to one or more cues either sensory or psychic—(Horton quoted by Hollingworth.) Hollingworth himself endeavours to explain dreams in reference to an all-inclusive doctrine of “red-integration” which according to him accounts for all life behaviour. What is red-integration? A complex antecedent ABCD evokes a response XYZ. On a next occasion, the response XYZ total or partial can be evoked even by a fraction of ABCD, say A or B or C or D in virtue of the fraction having participated earlier in a totality. So is a dream. A fraction of a stimulus sets up responses resulting in combinations of dream-imagery, even though the earlier totality-antecedent might never be forthcoming.

I am sure MacCurdy will complain that this red-integration never gives the laws according to which dream-imagery would combine. There is no knowing which fraction of a given antecedent would evoke which response-fraction as the response

might be associated with a series of preparatory reactions as well. There is the rub. Even so, the hypothesis of "trial perceptions" is onesided and narrow. "Is the trial-perception" series one which is consciously undertaken by the subject in the interests of his successful waking life? That cannot be. The subject has no control over the organisation or succession of "trial perceptions". If on the other hand, we are bound to admit that the subject is willy-nilly obliged to submit to "trial perceptions" there is no meaning in their being christened "trial perceptions". How again is this "trial" compatible with the sense some dreams actually reveal and the sense which yet others are made to reveal on subsequent analysis or the sense which is practically squeezed out of dreams?

III

SOME SIGNIFICANT TEXTS.

Let me now turn to an examination of some Upaniṣadic texts which reveal an undoubtedly psychological outlook and speculative insight into the significance of the problem of dream and its solution. In the course of my paper submitted to the previous year's Science Congress I had mentioned and extracted some of the relevant Upaniṣadic texts. I shall devote this section to a special and exclusive discussion of a very short yet profoundly significant Upaniṣad—the *Māṇḍūkya*. Everything in this Universe is Brahman. The finite self is Brahman. The finite self passes through or experiences four states. The waking state is first described. Secondly the Dream state. Thirdly the state of Dreamless sleep. Fourthly the state of one-ness of the Finite and the Infinite. The term used is *Pāda*. It does not mean a foot as in the case of the quadruped it does. It stands for a quarter, a fraction, a necessary state through which the subject passes. The waking state is described. The familiar sacrificial fire is personified. By means of seven limbs and nineteen mouths the Ātman-Fire consumes objects of external Reality. He is described as *STHŪLABHUK* i. e. consuming or eating up the gross, concrete, manifest external Reality. He is also *BAHIHPRAJÑAH*. i. e. His awareness or consciousness is directed towards External Reality. It represents the analogue of extrovert existence in all waking consciousness.

The Dream-state is next described. The fire of the previous paragraph is transformed into smokeless brilliance, radiance or effulgence. Seven limbs and nineteen mouths are repeated. In

contrast to BAHIPRAJÑA, the term ANTAHPRAJÑA is used. Instead of the previous STHĪLABHUK of the waking state, we come across PRAVIVIKTABHUK. New light will be shed on the Psychology of dreams if the terms used are carefully analysed in their connotations.

The Third is the state of dreamless sleep. A reference to the nineteen mouths is significantly missing. Nor is there any reference to the seven limbs. The variety, the multiplicity and complexity of waking life is all enveloped in total darkness as it were. The subject withdraws deep into himself. There is only one face. That is the subject having the face of CETAH, inherent spiritual light which is spoken of.

The Fourth is the state of final liberation which according to the Advaita Vedānta does not and cannot admit of any description by means of linguistic and conceptual medium and which can therefore be attempted to be described only in negative terms as not this—not that—and so forth.

IV

Metaphysical postulates and presuppositions have to be laid aside for purposes of a strictly psychological investigation. The Brahman may be identical with Ātman as in Advaita or may not as in Dvaita. The starting point for all strictly psychological inquiry is the nervous system, the psychophysical organism—some spiritual or psychical entity encased or engaged within a nervous system. The first point emphasised by the Upaniṣads is that the subject is obliged to experience four states which are his birthright. The waking state supplies the material for dreams, at any rate some material of outstanding importance and pre-eminent significance. That is described at the outset. I do not believe it is a chance-coincidence that in the personification of the Subject as God of fire the terms *SAPTĀṅGA*—(seven limbs) and *Ekonavimśati-Mukha* (19 mouths) are repeated both in the description of the waking state and that of the dream-state. The analogue of the extrovert attitude in normal life readily forms part of the stock of everybody's waking life. An experiencing subject and an environment are indispensable. Life is a reaction between the subject and his environment. By means of nineteen faces external reality is eaten up by the Subject. What are the nineteen? 5-Intellectual sense organs, 5-activity-organs, 5-breaths; Manas, Buddhi, Ahankāra, and Citta (4)

together form the nineteen mouths. The sense stimuli impinging on the organism from external reality are to be interpreted, red-integrated, and their synthesis effected. Sense-manifold has to be synthesised and brought under the categories of the understanding. The four last named stand for the different aspects of the subject's synthesising activity. Life can be a successful adjustment only when the meaning and significance of stimuli from external reality are adequately and fully realised.

V.

It is significant that in the description of the dream-state, the terms SAPTĀṆGA and EKONAVIMŚATIMUKHA are repeated. The contrast between the waking and dream-states is embodied in the terms ANTAHPRAJÑA, PRAVIVIKTA-BHUK, and TAIJASA. Extrovert and introvert will not be quite accurate or adequate. In waking state the pre-eminent and prominent interest attaches itself to adjustment to external Reality—an environment, physical, social *et hoc*. In the dream-state on the other hand the interest is withdrawn from external Reality and concentrated on the world of images, on the internal. That is not a deliberate or voluntary transfer of interest. That is inevitable in the nature of things.

Our waking life is the source of experience. Our stock has to be replenished from the waking state. A world, an environment is indispensable. Apparatus for the reception and co-ordination of stimuli is essential. Categories of the understanding are inevitable, to synthesise the sense-manifold and assign it meaning, and appreciate values. The nineteen faces figuratively indicate the sense-channels for reception and co-ordination of stimuli and the categories or the mental factors of synthesis. What do the seven limbs signify? Chândogya-passage in 5th Adhyāya, 18th Khaṇḍa makes mention of nearly a dozen limbs of the fire-God. Why should the limbs be restricted to 7 in the present context?

It seems to me that the seven limbs are intended indirectly to suggest the 5-Cosmic elements Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ākāśa (perhaps in the sense of empty-space or Ether if that speculation be permitted), Time and Space *qua* entering into the constitution of the human experience. The cosmic elements do find their replica in the nervous system. The elements

constitute the environment in which the subject lives, moves and has his being, in short external Reality.

VI.

The subject is **BAHIHPRAJÑA**. His awareness or consciousness is directed to external reality. That is in waking state. In him is **ANTAHPRAJÑA**. His awareness or consciousness is directed inwards. In the waking state he is **STHŪLA-BHUK** *i.e.* taking in or assimilating the gross, manifest External Reality. In the dream-state he takes in or enjoys or assimilates the **PRAVIVIKTA**, the subtle, the unmanifest internal reality of imagery and image-world. Contact with external reality is amplifying and augmenting experience every moment of our existence. The contact is to be cut or switched off at the onset of sleep.

Fatigue is the law of musculature or muscular energisation. This was realised by the Upaniṣads. The passage *Bṛhadāranyaka*, 1—5—21 definitely states that sense organs become fatigued. “*Śrāmyatyeva Vāk, Śrāmyati cakṣuḥ*” etc. Voice is fatigued. Eye is fatigued. Ear gets fatigued. Profound, deep sleep is inevitable. Repair, rehabilitation, and rejuvenation or reconstruction of the fatigued nervous tissues is going on in sleep. Only the sense organs are fatigued. Mind is not; Comparatively. Vital functions continue intact. The respiratory, circulatory and the gastric functions are yet on even in sleep. They constitute sufficient and adequate stimuli for dreams.

Central initiation or excitation of dream-imagery can be due to the physiological functions themselves. Or a psychical stimuli-set is indicated. Escape is sought from the hard, stubborn realities of life. Dissatisfaction with the values of waking existence is the psychical stimulus-set for the creation and projection of dream-imagery. “*Svapno-bhūtvā...atīkrāmati mṛtyo rūpāṇi.*” 4—3—7 is a significant text. Śaṅkara and Madhva might interpret the passage to suit their own respective metaphysical exegetics. To a psychological quest the metaphysical implications and commitments are hardly relevant. Escape from the hard and fatiguing realities of waking life is sought in Sleep and Dreams. In the latter the escape is not so profound or satisfactory. In the former it is.

The fatigue is physical as well as mental. Mental fatigue results from maladjustment, or inability to secure adjustment,

over-estimation or under-estimation of our abilities and capacities to tide over a difficulty or effect an adjustment. The physical fatigue occurs quicker. Mental fatigue not so quicker. When the affairs small and big of the waking state have not yet been settled, when accounts have not been properly settled, physical fatigue becomes overwhelming and there is the onset of sleep resulting in the switching off of contact with external reality on account of the *Śrama*, fatigue of the sensory channels of communication.

VII.

But other physiological systems are active. They in concert with the residuum of maladjustment carried over and brought forward as it were from the waking into the sleep state, a maladjustment that is pre-eminently mental, or a state of suspense or indecision brought about by lack of adjustment would be sufficient to account for the creation of dreams. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* sketches with remarkable psychological insight and analytical acumen the following transition. 1. *Samprasāda* and *Svapnānta* are terms used to denote the dreamless-sleep state. From *Samprasāda* a transition occurs to *Svapna*, *i. e.* dream-state. 2. From *Svapna* there occurs a transition to *Buddhānta* or the waking state. 3. From *Buddhānta* once more there occurs a transition to *Svapnānta*, dreamless sleep.

There is a very important point to note that the transition is inevitable. No voluntary inhibition can be exercised to stop the transition. A reciprocal transition from sleep into dreams and from dreams into sleep is also indicated before the break of sleep and dreams by the transition into the *Buddhānta*. Escape is sought from the fatiguing realities of life. There is some escape, some freedom from the troubles, worries, tribulations and turmoils of waking life. There is a more profound and safer escape in the state of sleep. It is pertinent to inquire why the transition is not confined to profound sleep stage alone. The term *Antaḥ-Prajña* would explain it. The subject's activities are turned inwards. Fatigue of the sense organs does not mean fatigue of the mind. The subject's mental activity intuned, acting in concert with the fatigue creates and projects the dream-imagery.

VIII.

1—The *Praśnopaniṣad* as I have explained in a previous paper maintains that in Dreams the subject experiences his

Mahimā (on which term I am prepared to stake my all,) the creative activity or majesty or greatness.

2—Bṛhadāranyaka propounds the theory that escape from fatigue is sought, and sketches the transition from sleep to dream, from dream to sleep, and from both to the waking life or state.

3—The Chāndogya (8—19.) contains the *Mahimā*-theory of the *Praśna-upaniṣad*. “*Mahīyamānaścarati*” says the Chāndogya text.

4—Half-a-dozen other Upaniṣadic texts referred to by me in a previous paper account for the dreams as being due to the creative activity of the mind on the raw-material supplied by the “*Vāsanās*,” Images of the Unconscious and sub-conscious realm.

What then is our conclusion? Dreams and dream experiences are to be regarded as governed by a law of compensation. Compensation for what? For the lack of proper adjustment of the subject to the circumstances and conditions of waking existence. Dreams being on their own revenges even as the whirligig of time. Somehow, not in the Bradleyan sense, the subject lacks in the matter of endowment, equipment, energy, environment and exercise of his volitions. Why should there be such a lack in any given individual and why should individuals themselves differ in congenital endowment and equipment; and subsequent environments and opportunities would be a problem for metaphysicians to wrangle over. For purposes of a strictly psychological investigation, it is sufficient to note that there is such a lack, a maladjustment and difference among individuals. “Am I my brother’s keeper?” one might ask. Others are bound to have similar quests and queries, similar doubts and difficulties. These are not conflicts in the sense of the term adopted by Dr. Rivers.

Each individual has his own small Utopia where he hopes to be monarch of all he surveys. It may be a social Utopia. May be a political one. May be in fact anything. The concretisation of the Utopia may not be possible in the nature of things, or may not commend itself to a particular state of society in which the lot of the individual might be chanced to have been thrown. Round men are put in square holes. They have to get on. Others rebel against their destiny in vain. Is there

no compensation for all this? Do we not witness phenomena in concrete experience that appear to be the very negation of accepted principles, standards and values of morality? A perfectly contented resignation to the course of waking existence is not possible if desirable and not desirable if possible. Some compensation is necessary. The spiritual value and importance of an individual however obscure and humble he might be cannot be inferior to that of one however exalted he might be. Waking existence does little or no justice to the fundamental equality of the individuals which is being loudly claimed and proclaimed but neither recognised nor achieved. The poor man has his compensation in dreams when he imagines to be rich, if you please. I am not prepared to admit that the poor man has a suppressed wish to get rich or enjoy riches and that this suppressed wish is gratified in dreams. There may be no such wish at all esoteric or exoteric, suppressed or expressed. His Mahimā, in the language of the *Praśnopaniṣad*, he has a right to experience or enjoy and he does it.

Apart from compensation, Dreams bring on their own revenges! The self-complacence, the insolence, and the arrogance with which individuals look upon their fellowmen reappear in dreams where the tables are turned. The biter of the waking existence is bit in the dream state. Faint hearts might draw a lesson if they like that dreams are premonitory.

IX—Conclusion.

I shall sum up the leading conclusions so far indicated.

1. Dreams are Nature's own arrangement for affording the subject some escape from the hard, and stubborn and fatiguing realities of waking life. This escape can hardly be summed up under Freud's wish-fulfilment hypothesis or the Conflict-solution theory of Dr. Rivers or the "Trial-perception" or even the "Red-integration" hypothesis noted above.
2. The onset of fatigue and sleep when the problems big and small of waking life have not been settled or could not be settled is responsible for their reappearance in dreams. Our errors in our dealing with the environment cause dreams.
3. Mind's creative activity acting on the raw material of the *Vāsanās*—the storehouse of the Unconscious—would account for the bizarre and outlandish elaboration of forms of dream-imagery.

Sense there is in some dreams. Out of some others sense is squeezed or extracted after analysis. The latter is of doubtful value. I do not believe the sense *prima facie* discernable or squeezed out is of any help in the settlement of the affairs of waking life. I am aware of the contention that the sense is made use of to rid mental abnormalities and maladies. But as I said at the outset clinical data should be kept separate from the psychological.

The Upaniṣadic texts quoted above consider that the transition from one state to another is a matter of course and inevitable. That at any rate is the view of the Māṇḍūkya text. What is a matter of course and inevitable, need not be studied on the analogy of the manic-depressive insanity. I cannot help regarding that the otherwise brilliant treatment of the dream-problem by Prof. MacCurdy is vitiated by an un-methodological mixture of the clinical with psychological material. To the question—What are the laws according to which the images of the Unconscious—the Vāsanās—combine? I venture to render a provisional answer that in the light of the Māṇḍūkya text which regards transition from waking to sleep, to dream and back to waking as a matter of course, the laws of association of ideas and images that account for the part played by them in the constitution and direction of waking like, would themselves explain the dream-phenomena as well *Mutatis Mutandis*. You may christen the laws of combination, "Association Laws", "Red-integration Laws" or by any other equally catching name. One thing is certain. If the succession of dream-imagery reveals any sense we need not mind it. If it does not reveal any, we need evince no undue anxiety to squeeze sense out of it.

The Upaniṣadic conclusion indicates a step in advance. Waking, sleep, and Dream states are all to be transcended and there is a fourth wherein only the Subject can experience unalloyed bliss undisturbed and uninterruptedly. Escape from the hard realities afforded by dreams and sleep is temporary and transient. The inevitable lapse into waking life more poignantly brings home to the subject the tyranny of life and its problems.

The waking life is the crux. Its little problems have to be solved immediately and the situation rounded off. Efficient adjustment is not wholly within the voluntary control of the individual. Maladjustment is inevitable. Think no more of it.

Embark on a fresh career, a new quest and original adventure. Always take care not to carry any residuum into your heads of the concerns of waking life and project them into dreams ! It is a large order. That is the only effective way of escaping from dreams pleasant and unpleasant. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Utter a prayer, if you please and close the wearied eyelids with the conviction that a day is over, a day which should be one of service, sacrifice and a sane adjustment. There is a high probability one who begins sleep with that mentality would not be troubled with any dreams at all. Dreams pleasant and unpleasant are unnecessary. At the time of the "indriyoparama" cutting off of the contact of sense organs with external reality, the vital bodily functions and disgruntled and brooding mentality would appear to be the only stimuli to dreams. If the latter are eradicated the former would be rendered impotent to project dream-imagery.

In the eternal clash of cultures, vagaries of values, shifting of standards, incompatibility between anticipation and achievement due to a wrong calculation, the individual should realise his own capabilities and limitations first. Non-realisation leads to maladjustment. The individual is left to brood over retrospectively the irretrievable past. Prospective anxiety for the future is there too. They are the mental stimuli for dreams. They cannot be brought under Freudian suppressed-wish or any other equally narrow category. It is gratuitous to assume that all individuals have suppressed wishes. Similarly it is gratuitous to assume that conflicts of the waking life would be solved in dreams as indeed does Dr. Rivers.

But it is a bare statement of fact when the Upaniṣadic text suggests that the subject wants *SAMPRASĀDA* the calm composed happiness of escape from the realities, tyrannies, turmoils and contradictions of waking existence. There is a difference of degrees in the Samprasāda. Sleep gives the best escape from waking life. To a less extent do dreams. Here are the Upaniṣadic catchwords. 1. Svapnobhūtvā atikrāmati mṛtyo rūpāṇi. The subject in sleep and dreams escapes from the unpleasant realities of waking existence. 2. Mahimānam anubhavati, Mahiyamānaścarati, etc. The subject is the recipient of Nature's compensation in the shape of dreams for certain handicaps and disabilities from which he suffers and from which no escape in waking life is possible and on account of which he

has to gibbet himself as the laughing stock to the mischievously-minded of his followmen. Along with compensation dreams bring to others their own revenges. 3. The most important contribution made by the Upaniṣadic seers is that waking life, dreams, sleep; the three are to be transcended and there is a fourth-state in which alone the subject enjoys perfect bliss. A well-regulated and disciplined waking life with a complete realisation of its potentialities and limitations would hardly engender any dream. The Subject can boldly face Nature and Say—

Look here, I want none of your compensations, none of the dream revenges. I have realised my capabilities and limitations. My record is clean." Why should there be limitations, difference between individuals in equipment, endowment, and environmental facilities and why should grumbling due to them engender dreams is as good a question as why should there be evil and imperfection in this, the best of all possible worlds? The student of dream psychology need not worry over it. Life in conformity with the ideals of Vairāgya—of unattachment—would reduce to a negligible minimum the dream-originating factors.

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॥ श्रीः ॥

मुरारिमिश्रः त्रिपादीनीतिनयनं च ॥

By

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‘मुरारेस्तृतीयः पन्थाः’ अस्य लोकप्रवादस्य मूलं याथात्म्यं प्रति च
ममैवमासीन्मनसि पुरा—

समानं कार्यमुद्दिश्य प्रवृत्तयोर्द्वयोर्विभिन्नमार्गेण कार्यं साधितवतोरन्यः
कश्चित्तृतीयस्तदेव कार्यं तदुभयविलक्षणेन नव्येन मार्गेण साधयेत्, स च साधको
मुरारिनामकश्च स्यात्, तदा तदवलम्बनः सम्भाव्येतायं लोकप्रवादः । सत्यपि
प्रतिकवि विशेषे सामान्यतः कालिदासभवभूतिमार्गयोर्विभिन्नरूपयोरन्तर्भावमर्हन्ति
भारतीयकवीनां मार्गाः; तन्मार्गाभ्यां विलक्षणेन काव्यमार्गेण अनर्घराघव-
नाटकं प्रणीतवान् कविर्मुरारिनामधेयश्च सुप्रसिद्धः । अतस्तं मुरारिकविं तद्वीतिं
चैवावलम्ब्यात्मलाभमलभतायं प्रवाद इति ।

यद्यप्यस्मिन् सिद्धान्ते बहवोऽनुपपत्तयः प्रादुरभूवन्मे मनसि, तथापि
ता नैनं सिद्धान्तमुन्मूलयितुं पर्याप्तमधिष्ठानमलभन्त ।

कियतश्चन कालात्पूर्वं श्रीमता मानवल्लि रामकृष्णकवि, यम्. ए., इत्यनेन मम
सुहृदा मध्यमर्पितः त्रिपादीनीतिनयनाख्यो मुरारिमिश्रप्रणीतो ग्रन्थः पूर्वसिद्धान्तं
पूर्वपक्षमकरोत् ।

उपलब्धोऽयं ग्रन्थः प्रकृष्टैर्लेखकप्रमादैर्ग्रन्थपातैश्च यद्यपि निरन्तरः,
तथापि प्रतिपाद्यस्वरूपमपि सर्वथा प्रकाशयितुमसमर्थो नैव । अतस्तद्ग्रन्थपरि-
शीलनप्रयासान्मयोपलब्धमिह निवेद्यते । तत्र पूर्वतन्त्रे प्रसिद्धात् भाट्टात् प्राभाकराच्च
प्रस्थानाद्विभिन्नं प्रस्थानमाद्रियते नीतिनयनमित्ययमंशः समग्रतद्ग्रन्थपरिशीलनेनैव
सुप्रदर्श इति विशेष एव प्रदर्श्यते दिङ्मात्रम् ।

1. ज्ञानं स्वप्रकाशं न—इति मुरारिमिश्रो मन्यते—

“प्राशस्त्योपस्थितिरेव स्तुतेरप्युपस्थितिः, स्वप्रकाशत्वाज्ज्ञानस्येति चेन्न;
तथाप्यर्थप्रवणतां हित्वा स्वप्रवणताकल्पने गौरवापत्तेः”

(नीतिनयनम्—अर्थवादाधिकरणम्)

2. नीतिनयनकर्ता नयविवेकप्रणेतारं भवनाथमिश्रमर्थतोऽनूद्य प्रत्याचष्टे—

“राद्धान्तस्तु—व्युत्पत्त्यर्थपरत्वं मन्त्राणामविशिष्टम् । न तत्तदर्थशास्त्रा-
दिबाध्यम् । अनुवादकं तदर्थशास्त्रमस्तु “य एवं विद्वान् पौर्णमासीं यजते”
इत्यादिवत् । अनुवादे पृथक् प्रमाणता नास्ति ; कार्यार्थत्वं त्वस्येव ।

ननु तदर्थशास्त्रं पूर्वम्, पश्चाद्वादोऽनुवादो मन्त्राणामेवास्तु । तन्न;
सति हि वचने मन्त्र उदास्त एव । न तर्हि मन्त्रतः प्राप्तानुवादः । उक्तं च
पञ्चिकायाम् “मन्त्रलिङ्गापेक्ष एव तदर्थशास्त्राद्विनियोगः, अतो लैङ्गिक एव
पूर्वम् ” इति ।

अयं भावः—तदर्थशास्त्रैः शेषशेषितामात्रार्पणम् ; किञ्चित्करता तु
मन्त्रशक्तिनिरूपणात् ; तन्निरूपणे च किञ्चित्कार्यत्मा शेष्यपि लब्ध एवेति स्वतो
हेतुसाकल्याद्विनियोगधीरग्रे जाता, तस्यां दशायां तदर्थशास्त्रमनुवादः । ऐन्द्र्यां तु
वचनादेव किञ्चित्कार्यं गार्हपत्यं लब्धम् ; किञ्चित्करता चाभिधानमिति स्वत
एव हेतुसाकल्याद्विनियोगधीः । अतो न मन्त्रलिङ्गापेक्षा प्रत्युत मन्त्रलिङ्गं वाचनि-
कानुसारादन्यथा । यद्यपि “धान्यमसि”—इत्यत्र वचनान्न किञ्चित्करता, तथापि
मन्त्रलिङ्गादपि न सा ; लिङ्गाद्वि धान्यस्य किञ्चित्कार्यतापत्तिः, न तण्डुलस्य ।
अतो वचनं किञ्चित्करतापेक्षमन्त्रलिङ्गं तिरस्कृत्य वाक्यरूपतयाभिधानं दृष्टमाश्रित्य
विनियोजकम् । इह (उरुप्रथस्व) तु विनियोज्यविशेषलिङ्गोपस्थापितकिञ्चि-
त्करताविशेषो न तिरस्कारमर्हतीति दिक् । ”

(नयविवेकः—मन्त्राधिकरणम्)

“अत्र विवेकः—लिङ्गमेवात्र शीघ्रभावि, त्रयाणामेव शेषशेषिकिञ्चित्क्रिया-
णामुपस्थापकत्वात् । श्रुतौ शेषशेषिणोर्द्वयोरुपस्थितिः, न किञ्चित्क्रियायाः;
अतस्तदर्थं लिङ्गापेक्षा; ततो दुर्बलत्वमेव । न चैवमन्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि श्रुतेर्दुर्बलत्वमेव
स्यादिति वाच्यम् ; तत्र “ऐन्द्र्या गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते”—इत्यात्मनेपदबलात्
किञ्चित्क्रियाया अभिधानरूपाया उपस्थितेः । यद्यपि “धान्यमसि—इति दृष्टदि
तण्डुलानधिवपति”—इत्यन्यार्थशास्त्रे किञ्चित्क्रियोपस्थानं नास्ति, तथापि न

लिङ्गादपि, तण्डुलप्रकाशनाशक्तेः । अतः स्वयं किञ्चित्क्रियामुपस्थाप्यैव निरपेक्षा श्रुतिर्विनिर्जोका इति । तदयुक्तम् ।”

(नीतिनयनम्—मन्त्राधिकरणम्)

३. तर्कसङ्ग्रहदीपिकाप्रकाशिकादौ स्मृतो मुरारिमिश्रः प्रकृतग्रन्थकर्तृवेति । तत्त्वचिन्तामणिकारादिभिः स्मृतोऽप्ययमेवेति च सम्भाव्यते —

(a) “तदप्रामाण्येत्यादि । तदप्रामाण्यग्राहिका यावती ज्ञानग्राहिका सामग्री तज्जन्यग्रहविषयो न वेत्यर्थः । तादृशग्रहो गुरुनये व्यवसायः, मुरारिमिश्रमतेऽनुव्यवसायः, भाट्टमते च ज्ञाततालिङ्गकानुमितिः ।..... मिश्रमते तु “अयं घटः” इत्याकारकज्ञानानन्तरं “घटत्वेन घटमहं जानामि”—इति ज्ञानविषयकलौकिकमानसमुत्पद्यते ; तेन प्रामाण्यग्रहणम् ।”

(नीलकण्ठप्रकाशिका—प्रामाण्यवादः)

“स्वतस्त्वमिति । स्वतस्त्वं मीमांसकैरुच्यते, परतस्त्वं नैयायिकैरिति मन्तव्यम् । अत्र गुरुमिश्रभट्टा मीमांसकाख्यः । तत्र गुरुनये..... । मिश्रमते तु अनुव्यवसायग्राहो व्यवसायः, अनुव्यवसायश्च व्यवसायप्रत्यक्षम् ; तज्जनिका सामग्री मनःसंयुक्तसमवायादिघटिता ; तद्ग्राह्यमेव व्यवसायनिष्ठं प्रामाण्यमिति मिश्राः ।”

(रामरुद्रभट्टीयम्—प्रामाण्यवादः)

(b) “ज्ञानस्य मानसत्वे च प्रामाण्यज्ञानवत् तत्सामग्र्यपि संशयप्रतिबन्धिका, तन्निश्चायकत्वात् ।”

(मणिः—प्रामाण्यवादः)

“मिश्रमते दोषमाह—ज्ञानस्य मानसत्वे चेति । ज्ञानस्य लौकिकमानसप्रत्यक्षत्वमते चेत्यर्थः ।”

(रहस्यम्—प्रामाण्यवादः)

“परप्रकाशे लिङ्गेन मनसा वा जायमानं ज्ञानं न भ्रमव्यावृत्तं प्रामाण्यं गृहीयात्, व्यभिचारात् ।”

(मणिः—प्रामाण्यवादः)

“गुरुमतं दूषयित्वा भट्टमिश्रमतं दूषयति—परप्रकाश इति । परप्रकाश-
मते—भट्टमिश्रमत इति यावत् ।लिङ्गेनेत्यादौ जन्यत्वं तृतीयार्थः ।”

(रहस्यम्—प्रामाण्यवादः)

अत्र मणौ मानसभास्यं विज्ञानमनुवदन् गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः प्रकृतमुरारिमेव
स्मरतीति सम्भाव्यते । तदनुगुणमेव च मथुरानाथस्तन्मताभिमानिनं मिश्रपदेन
व्यपदिश्य व्याख्याति । प्राभाकरभाट्टमतसन्दर्ष्टं च मतमेतन्मीमांसकस्यैव
भवितुमर्हतीति न्यायविदां पन्थाः । “अत्र गुरुमिश्रमद्वया मीमांसकास्त्रयः”—इति
रामरुद्रभट्टोऽपि स्पष्टमेव तं मीमांसकं प्रकटयति ।

एवं चार्थात् मुरारिमिश्रो भवनाथादर्वाचीनः मणिकारात् प्राचीन इति च
सम्भाव्यते ।

4. त्रिपादीनातिनयनम्—इति नामैवास्य तर्कपादातिरिक्तप्रथमाध्यायार्थ-
प्रतिपादकस्य ग्रन्थस्य सम्पूर्णतां वदति ।

5. ग्रन्थसम्पूर्तौ मुरारिमिश्राणामेवेयं कृतिर्नीतिनयनमित्यत्र च ग्रन्थ-
वाक्यमपि प्रमाणमस्ति । यथा—“इति मुरारिमिश्रकृतिर्नीतिनयनं समाप्तम्” इति ।

इदमप्यत्रावश्यवक्तव्यं प्रतिभाति अङ्गत्वनिरुक्तिकर्तापि मुरारिमिश्रः
कश्चिदस्ति । स च नामीमांसकः ; परं तु स भट्टमतानुसारिणमात्मानं प्रति-
ज्ञायैवाङ्गत्वनिरुक्तिं प्रणयन् अर्वाचीनखण्डदेवं शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चानुसरतीत्येनं च
तं चैकं मा मन्यन्तां भवन्तः । प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां “अङ्गत्वनिरुक्तिकर्ता
तृतीयमार्गानुसारी मुरारिमिश्रः, स च ग्रन्थः प्रभाकरविजयसम्पादकत्वेन
निर्दिष्टस्य मम दृष्टिपथमायातः” इति महामहोपाध्यायैरुक्तं तु तेषां बहुकार्य-
वैयाकुल्या समापतितमिति ओम् ।*

*मुरारिमिश्रमतं तत्त्वचिन्तामणिधृतं प्रदर्श्य विलुलितनयविवेकांशमनाकुलं
प्रतिग्राह्य च मामनुगृह्णन्तः श्रीमन्तो महामहोपाध्यायादिविरुदाङ्किताः कुप्पुस्वामि-
शास्त्रिणः सभक्तिबहुमानं स्मर्यन्ते ।

॥ त्रिपादीनीतिनयनम् ॥

॥ मुरारिभिश्चप्रणीतम् ॥

अर्थवादाधिकरणम्^१

“आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्शानां तस्मादनित्यमुच्यते ॥” १-२-१.

उक्तं कार्यमर्थं प्रतिपादयतो वेदस्य प्रामाण्यम् । न चार्थवादानां कार्या-
र्थता, विधिना सहैकवाक्यत्वे प्रमाणाभावात् । तस्मादप्रामाण्यम् इति परेषां
पूर्वपक्षः ।

ननु तेषां सिद्धेऽपि व्युत्पत्तेः कथं कार्यार्थत्वमेव ? तत्ताध्ययनविधि-
बलात् ; सिद्धस्यार्थस्य निष्प्रयोजनत्वादिति केचित् । तदयुक्तम् , तथा सति
तद्वलादेवैकवाक्यत्वप्रसङ्गात् । तस्माद्धर्मे प्रामाण्यं सिद्धार्थतया न संभवति ;
तच्चिन्तनीयमित्यभिप्रायः ।

कथमैकवाक्यताविरहः ? कार्यस्य कार्येणैवान्वयात् , अर्थवादायस्य
च सिद्धत्वात् । कथं तर्हि नियोज्यान्वयः ? नियोज्यस्याकार्यत्वात् । तत्र निरूढे
नियोगे न सिद्धार्थान्वयः ; नियोज्यान्वयस्त्वनिरूढे एवार्थे इति केचित् , तन्न ;
निर्युक्तिकत्वात् । तथाप्यर्थवादानामनिरूढे एवान्वयोऽस्त्विति चोद्यानिवृत्तेः ।
अनिर्वाहकत्वादनिरूढिदशायां नान्वय इति चेत् ; एवं तर्हि सिद्धत्वं न हेतुः
स्यात् । तथापि निरूढिदशायामनन्वये सिद्धत्वं हेतुरिति चेत् , न ; कालादेरप्य-
न्वयदर्शनात् । तेषामपि क्रियान्वयेन साध्यतेति चेत् , न ; अन्योन्याश्रयापत्तेः
क्रियान्वये साध्यता, साध्यत्वे च क्रियान्वयः इति । तस्मादेवं वाच्यम् ।
कृत्यनुरञ्जनयोग्यं कार्यमत्राभिप्रेतम् । तच्च द्वयम् नियोज्यकोटिर्विषयकोटिश्चेति ।
कोटिद्वयबहिर्भूतं सिद्धमभिप्रेतम् । न चातीतस्य च ओदनादेर्वर्तमानस्य
च वायुक्षेपिष्ठत्वादेः कोटिद्वये योग्यता विद्यत इति नैकवाक्यत्वम् । [इति]

राद्धान्तस्तु,—यद्यप्येकवाक्यता न प्रतीयते; तथाप्यध्ययनविधिना सर्वस्य
वेदस्य प्रयोजनवदर्थपरत्वापादानादर्थवादानां तत्सिद्धयर्थं रूपभङ्गेनाप्येकवाक्यत्वं
लक्षणयाङ्गीकर्तव्यम् , विधेरपि इतिकर्तव्यतात्वेन प्राशस्त्यस्यापेक्षणादिति ।

१. मुरारिभिश्चप्रणीतस्य दिङ्मात्रप्रदर्शनार्थं एतत् ।

तदयुक्तम् ; एवं विचारे प्रतिज्ञातप्रामाण्यानाक्षेपात् पूर्वपक्षसङ्गतिर्न स्यात् । ननु न प्रतिज्ञाक्षेपेण सर्वत्र सङ्गतिः ; न हि ग्रहाधिकरणे “शेषः परार्थत्वात्” (३-१-२) इति प्रतिज्ञा निर्विषया भवति, एकग्रहशेषत्वेऽपि संमार्गस्य प्रतिज्ञाया अविरोधात् । सङ्गतिस्तु प्रतिज्ञाया निर्वाहेऽपि—यद्विचार्यतया प्रतिज्ञातम्, तद्विचारे एव भवति ; प्रतिज्ञातश्चात्र वेदप्रामाण्यविचारः ; अर्थवादा अपि वेदा एवेति कथमसङ्गतिः ? एतमन्तरेणापि प्रतिज्ञासिद्धेः प्रतिज्ञायां नायमर्थवादसिद्धान्तहेतुसम्बन्धः स्यादिति चेत्, न ; अनुमानैकदेशभूता हि प्रतिज्ञा तत्साधकेन हेतुना सम्बध्यते ; इह तु विचारस्य प्रतिज्ञासम्बन्धः सङ्गति-निमित्तम् ; सोऽपि च न हेतुत्वलक्षणः, किन्तु विषयरूपः ; तेन प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रामाण्यविचारविषयत्वादस्ति प्रामाण्यविचारस्य प्रतिज्ञायां सङ्गतिः । हेतुस्तु सिद्धान्तस्य सिद्धान्तेनैव सम्बध्यते, न प्रतिज्ञाया । स्यादेतदेवम्, तर्हि “तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः” (१-१-३) इत्यध्यायप्रतिज्ञासम्बन्धः स्यात् । चोदनासूत्रे (१-१-२) तु वस्तुप्रतिज्ञा, न तु विचारप्रतिज्ञा ; तत् कथमिदमधिकरणं विनापि सिध्यन्त्या प्रतिज्ञया सङ्गतं स्यात् ? मैवम्, तत्सम्बन्धस्य सङ्गत्यनुप-युक्तत्वात् । द्वादशाध्यायी च तया प्रतिज्ञया सम्बद्धा, न तु प्रथमाध्यायमात्रम् । अतश्च तस्मिन् सूत्रे यावद्वक्ष्यमाणविशेषो धर्मश्चोदनात्मकसम्पूर्णवेदलक्षणक इति प्रतिज्ञा । तत्र यथेतरेषामध्यायानां सामान्यतो धर्मानाक्षेपेऽपि सम्बन्धः, तथा-स्यापि सामान्यतश्चोदनाप्रामाण्यानाक्षेपेऽपि । स्यादेतत् यदि “तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः” (१-१-३) इति सूत्रे प्रामाण्यमात्रप्रतिज्ञा स्यात् । किन्तु तच्छब्दस्य प्रकृतमात्र-वाचित्वात् चोदनाप्रमाणकस्य धर्मस्य प्रकृतत्वात् तन्निमित्तचोदनाप्रामाण्यमेवा-ध्यापार्थतया प्रतिज्ञातमिति कथमचोदनात्मकस्यानुवादस्य चिन्ता सङ्गता स्यात् ? अस्यापि चोदनात्मत्वेन प्रामाण्यं व्युत्पाद्यमिति चेत्, न ; न व्युत्पाद्यवशात् सङ्गतिः, किन्तु विचार्यवशात् ; विचार्यत्वं चोदनात्वे सतीति कथं सङ्गतिः स्यात् ? नन्वेवमेकचोदनाप्रामाण्याक्षेपेऽपि इतराध्यायवत् सङ्गतिसिद्धिः ; किं सर्वक्षेपेण ? सत्यम् ; अतिप्रौढिस्तु सेति केचित् । अन्ये तु—चोदनासूत्रे “को धर्मः ?” (शा. भा. १-१-२) इत्येतस्मिन् प्रश्ने ‘न प्रत्यक्षादिगम्यः, किन्तु चोदनागम्यः’ इत्युक्ते “तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः” (१-१-३) इति सूत्रेण प्रतिज्ञा-निर्वाहोचितमेव प्रामाण्यं जिज्ञासितम् ; न तु चोदनाप्रामाण्यमात्रम्, तन्निरपेक्ष-तया प्रामाण्यमात्रस्याध्यायार्थतयाभिधानानुपपत्तेः । “अथातः शेषलक्षणम्” (३-१-१) इति तु न प्रतिज्ञानन्तरमध्यायार्थप्रतिज्ञानमित्यतः शेषत्वमात्रमेवाध्या-

यार्थः, इह तु न तथा । ततश्च पूर्वपक्षेऽपि प्रतिज्ञायाः साधुत्वे कथं सङ्गतिरिति । न च—प्रथमे एव पादे प्रामाण्यं व्युत्पाद्यम् ; द्वितीये विध्यनुवाद-मन्त्राणामुपयोगकथनम् ; तृतीये तु स्मृतिप्रामाण्यम् ; चतुर्थे नामधेयोपयोग इति । ततश्चौदुम्बरमन्त्रानुवादाद्यधिकरणानां नासङ्गतिरिति वाच्यम् ; तथा सत्येकाध्यायार्थत्वानुपपत्तेः । तस्मादेकवाक्यतयैव पूर्वपक्षः, तथा सति साक्षादङ्ग-द्वारा वा सर्वेषामनुवादैकवाक्यतया प्रामाण्याक्षेपात् प्रतिज्ञाया निर्विषयत्वेनासाधु-त्वात् । यद्यपि किञ्चिन्निरनुवादकमपि वाक्यम् ; तथाप्येकस्या अपि चोदनायाः प्रामाण्याक्षेपेण स्वभावसिद्धमेव शब्दस्याप्रामाण्य.....पौरुषेयत्वस्याप्यप्रामाण्यो-पाधित्वव्यभिचारादिति सर्वेषामेवाप्रामाण्यम् ।

नन्वेकवाक्यताभावेऽप्यर्थवादाप्रामाण्ये चोदनाया अपि किं न स्यात् ? न, सिद्धार्थानामनुवादानामप्रामाण्ये व्युत्पत्त्यभावस्यैवोपाधित्वात् । परेषां सिद्धेऽपि व्युत्पत्तिरस्तीति चेत्, न; तथापि व्युत्पत्तेर्भावाद्वर्मेऽपि नानुवादानामप्रामाण्येन देशनाया अपि स्यात् ।

अनुवादानामप्रामाण्ये तदनुवादकतया नार्थज्ञानं स्वाध्यायाध्ययनविधिः प्रयोजनतया गृह्णाति, किन्तु स्वर्गादि ; ततश्चान्यपरत्वात् सर्वा एव चोदना न प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न; विधेः प्रयोजनान्तरानपेक्षणात् । अत एव नियोगस्य प्रयोजकत्वात् कामाधिकारेऽपि न स्वर्गादिः प्रयोजनतयान्वयः, किन्तु नियोज्य-विशेषणतयैव ।

कथं तर्हि वेदस्यार्थपरत्वमिति चेत्, न; यतोऽर्थाज्जातस्यार्थज्ञानस्य विधिना पश्चादधिकारपर्यवसानार्थं स्वीकारत् । तच्च यथाजातमेव स्वीकारोचितं व्यापक-मव्यापकं वा, सिद्धान्तेऽपि 'हुम्' इत्यादीनामव्यापनात् । न च स्वर्गवन्नियोज्य-विशेषणत्वमेवार्थज्ञानस्य, अनियोगफलत्वात् वैतुष्यवत्, आचार्यविधिलब्धानु-ष्ठानेऽध्ययने नियोज्याभावात् ।

न च वेदार्थज्ञानकामनापि युज्यते; यदि प्रागसौ ज्ञातः, किमर्थं काम्यते ? न चेत् तथापि न कामना, तस्या ज्ञातविषयत्वात् । सामान्यतो ज्ञातं विशेषतो ज्ञानार्थं काम्यते काव्यालङ्कारार्थवदिति चेत्, न; सामान्यतो वेदार्थस्य नित्य-नियोगरूपस्य वेदमन्तरेणाभ्युदयकारितया पुंवाक्यमात्रात् प्रमाणान्तरविरोधेन प्रत्येतुमशक्तेः । वेद एवानुमितः प्रमाणान्तरबाधेन बोधयतीति चेत्, न;

तस्य विशेषशक्तस्य सामान्यबोधनासंभवात् । काव्ये तु पुंवाक्यलिङ्गकेनानुमाने-
नैव—कश्चिदर्थोऽभ्युदयकारी—इति लक्ष्यते । यदि च विधितः पूर्वमेव स्वाध्या-
यस्यार्थवत्ता ज्ञायते, तदा किं तदङ्गिनोऽध्ययनविधानेन? नियमार्थो विधिरिति
चेत्, न; लौकिकेऽर्थज्ञाने नियमाभावात्, कत्वर्थत्वे च निरधिकारत्वात् ।
किञ्चित्क्रियार्थज्ञानं तु नाधिकारिविशेषणं स्यात् । पुरुषार्थे च नियमेऽर्थ-
ज्ञानमाश्रयः स्यात् ; अधिकारी त्वन्य एव प्राङ्मुखभोजने इवायुष्कामः ।
अर्थज्ञानप्रवृत्तिर्वा निमित्तं स्यात् प्रतिग्रहादाविवाजनकामस्य प्रवृत्तिः ; न त्वर्थज्ञानं
फलम् । न च स्वाध्यायादेर्नियमः संभवति, अन्याप्रसक्तेः ।

नन्वेकवाक्यतयापि कथं पूर्वपक्षः? सा हि क्रियाकारकादिपदेषु विभक्त्या-
दिबलाद्भवति; विभक्त्या संनिहितपदार्थप्रतियोगिककारणत्वस्याभिधानात् । इह तु
द्वयोरनुपहताख्यातयोर्न व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धा एकवाक्यता; वाक्यभेद एव तु व्युत्पन्नः ।
उच्यते—सिद्धसिद्धार्थसाध्यार्थान्वययोरप्याख्यातयोरेकवाक्यत्वं व्युत्पन्नम् ।
हेतुहेतुमद्भावेन चान्वयः । यथा ‘मलिनं ते वपुः वर्तते; स्नायाः’ इति । ‘मलिनः
स्नायात्’—इति तु नोदाहरणम् ; तत्र मलिनस्य कर्तृत्वेनाधिकारित्वेन वान्वि-
तस्य साध्यकोटित्वात् हेतुत्वेनान्वयाभावात्, एकाख्यातत्वाच्च ।

तच्चेदं मलिनत्वस्य सिद्धिहेतुत्वमेव, न तु करणत्वादिकोटिवहिर्भूतत्वम् ।
अत एव न साध्यताप्रसङ्गः ; मलिनत्वं हि स्वापनयेच्छाद्वारा स्नानहेतुरिति केचित् ।
तत्र, इच्छायामपि भूतायामिष्टसाधनताज्ञानमन्तरेण कर्तव्यताज्ञानाभावात् ज्ञप्ति-
सिद्धावेव व्यापारात् । ज्ञानं चैवं सिद्धिहेतुः स्यात्, न च मलिनत्वम् । तस्य
चान्वयो वक्तव्यः, न तु ज्ञानस्य । सिद्धिहेतोर्हेतुत्वेनाभिधानं किमर्थम्? स्वरूप-
मात्रज्ञानस्यैवेच्छाऽजनकत्वात् । तस्मात् स्नाननिष्ठा साधनता अस्नानमलिनत्वा-
दिति ज्ञप्तिहेतुतयैवान्वयः । अतोऽनुवादकस्यापि ज्ञप्तिहेतुतयैवान्वयः । तत्र यदि
प्रतिबन्धग्राहकं प्रमाणमस्ति, तदानुमानप्रमेयप्रमाणतयाऽनुबोधयन्ती देशना ना-
प्रमाणम् ; अथ नास्ति, तथापि विपर्ययायातस्मृतिमात्रजनिका सापेक्षत्वान्न प्रमाणम् ।

ननु शब्द एव प्रतिबन्धं बोधयिष्यति, अस्मिन्नेवांशे प्रमाणं भविष्यति;
अनुमेयत्वांशो भवत्वप्रमाणम् । मैवम् ; न ह्यनुमानवाक्यानि हेतुस्वरूपतत्प्रति-
बन्धादिप्रतिपादकत्वेन व्युत्पन्नानि; किन्तु प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धहेतुस्वरूपतत्प्रतिबन्धा-
दिस्मरणद्वारानुमानज्ञानोत्पादकानि । अतः शाब्द एवानुमानवाक्यस्य नास्ति,
शब्दभावेन प्रामाण्ये प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण साध्यप्रतीतौ हेत्वादिप्रयोगवैयर्थ्यात् ।

सहेतुकं कार्यं प्रतिपन्नं सहेतुकत्वाय प्रतिबन्धमाक्षिपति इति चेत्, न; प्रतिबन्धस्य प्रतीतिहेतुत्वात् तदाक्षेपमन्तरेण प्रतीतेरेवासिद्धत्वात् । न तु सर्वत्राक्षेपः संभवति; रुद्ररोदनादिहेतुस्वरूपे नित्यानित्यसंयोगविरोधात्, प्रतिबन्धस्य रजतदानेऽपि संवत्सरादर्वाग्रोदनानुपलम्भेन बाधात् ।

केचित्तु ज्ञापकत्वातिरिक्तसम्बन्धाग्रे [पे] क्षित्वात् हेतुत्वस्य चानुवादेऽसंभवात् न हेतुत्वा[पेक्षा] आक्षेप इत्याहुः । तन्न, रोदनप्रभववर्हिर्द्वारकरजतदानयो रोदनजनकत्वाकर्तव्यतयोश्च कार्यकारणभावैकार्थसमवाययोः संभवात् ।

नन्वेवं हेतुत्वासंभवात् कथमन्वितामिधानम् ? तदभावे च प्रतीत्यभावात् कथमेकार्थप्रतीतिजनकत्वादेकवाक्यता ?

आपाततः प्रतीतैकवाक्यता चरमं भज्येतैव-इति केचित् । तन्न, चरमेकवाक्यताभङ्गे तन्निमित्तस्याप्रामाण्यस्यापि भङ्गप्रसङ्गात् । तद्भङ्गे चक्रकापत्तिरिति चेत्, तर्हि त्यज्यतामियमेकवाक्यता, चक्रकनिदानत्वात् । व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धैकवाक्यता न हातुमर्हेति, न वायोग्यात् प्रतीतिः संभवति इत्याशयेन विशीर्णान्येव वेदवाक्यानीति कश्चित् । तन्न, एवमध्यवसायेन पूर्वपक्षापत्तेः । पूर्वपक्षिणां भ्रमज्ञानाङ्गीकारात् भ्रान्तैकप्रतीतिजनकतयैकैकवाक्यत्वम् इत्यन्ये । तन्न, देशान्तरनिषिद्धस्य स्वीकारासंभवात् स्वसिद्धान्ततन्मूलन्यायेतरन्यायदर्शित्वात् पूर्वपक्षिणो भ्रान्तेश्चाव्यवस्थितत्वात् भिन्नान्यपि वाक्यान्त्येवमैकवाक्यानि स्युः । अत एव भिन्नानामपि ज्ञानानां भेदाग्रहवत् एकार्थव्यवहारकारितयैकतामौपाधिकीमाश्रित्य तज्जनकतयैकवाक्यत्वं संभवति इति निरस्तम् ।

उच्यते—नैकप्रतीतिकारित्वमेकवाक्यतावधारणहेतुः, किन्त्वेकार्थप्रतीतिपरत्वम् । तच्च प्रतीत्यजननेऽप्यस्ति, फलशून्यस्यापि तात्पर्यस्यानाप्तवाक्योऽपि संभवात् । तदवधारणमपि योग्यतां नापेक्षते, अयोग्येष्वपि विप्रलम्भकवाक्येषु तदवधारणात् । सिद्धसाध्यसमभिव्याहारादिरेव तस्या अवधारणे हेतुः । अत एव गङ्गाघोषादौ लक्षणा ; अन्यथा—योग्यत्वादेकवाक्यत्वम्, तद्वलाच्च लक्षणया योग्यत्वम्—इति दुरुत्तरमितरेतराश्रयं स्यात् । तस्मादन्वितामिधाने एव योग्यता कारणम्, न त्वेकवाक्यतावधारणे यथा च सिद्धान्ते प्राशस्त्योपनयपदानां सम्भूय प्रत्येकं वा, तथा पूर्वपक्षे हेतूपनयः । न चैवं प्राशस्त्योपनय एवास्त्विति वाच्यम् ; लक्षणाप्रसक्तेः । प्रामाण्यार्थं लक्षणेति चेत्, न ; अव्युत्पन्नत्वात् ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—शङ्कितदोषाद्धि पुंवाक्यात् प्रतीतोऽर्थः प्रमाणभूतं हेतुमप-
क्षते ; निर्दोषात्तु वेदात् प्रतीतस्य विशेषतोऽपूर्वस्य न हेत्वपेक्षा । न च तदु-
त्थापनं शक्यम्, स्वरूपभङ्गप्रसङ्गात् । न चानुवादानुरोधेन तत्स्वरूपमेव
ल्यज्यम् ; अनुवादत्वात्, तस्य प्रधानत्वात् । अतो वाक्यार्थेऽपूर्वेऽनुवादार्थस्य
सम्बन्धानुपपत्तेः प्राशस्त्यलक्षणैव ; नैव ह्यप्रामाण्यार्थे लक्षणा । किं च अगृहीत-
प्रतिबन्धतयानुवादार्थो न मुख्यान्वययोग्यो गङ्गापदार्थ इवेति लक्षणैव युक्ता ।
स्तावकत्वेन चान्वयो दृष्ट एव यथा—इयं गौः क्रय्या स्यपत्या—इत्यादौ ।
तद्गुणस्वरूपकथनमेवेति चेत्, न ; वाक्यभेददोषात् । हेतुत्वेन तत्राप्यन्वय इति
चेत्, न ; असतोऽपि गुणस्य कीर्तनात् । विप्रलम्भ इति चेत्, न ; आतैरपि
प्रयोगात्—एवं “वरं विषं मुङ्क्षु, मा वास्य गृहे मुङ्क्थाः”—इत्याद्युदाहार्यम् ।
मुख्यार्थानुवादकतयैवानुवादानां प्रामाण्यमस्तु ; किं प्राशस्त्यलक्षणया ? इति
चेत्, न ; एकस्मिन् वाक्ये प्रतीतिवदनुवादश्चेत्यङ्गीकारे वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गात्—
इति केचित् । कथं तर्हि “सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्” इति निर्वपतिरनुवाद इति चेन्न,
तस्यापि स्तावकत्वात् ; अविधेयान्वयितया त्वनुवादोक्तिः ।

तन्न, क्रमेणान्विताभिधाने एकस्मिन्नपि वाक्ये प्राप्त्यनुवादयोः संभवात् ।
यदि नो वादः, तदा प्राशस्त्योपनयेऽपि का विधा स्यात् ? यदि च तदपि
विधीयते, तदा स्वातन्त्र्येण वाक्यभेदः । तद्विशिष्टयागादिविधावपि प्राशस्त्याङ्गत्व-
मनुवादानां विध्युद्देश्यत्वं प्रसज्येत । उपलक्षणमिति चेत्, एवं तर्हि तत्
प्रमाणान्तरप्रतीतमेव भवति, न तूपादेयम् । तदा च तस्य वादः कथमनुवादः
स्यात् ? विध्युद्देशप्रवृत्तकृतौ हि सिध्यतां पश्चादङ्गोपकारार्थं प्राप्तानां वादोऽनुवादो
भवति । वेदनादि तु न तथेति केचित् । तदयुक्तम् ; यदि तस्य नानुवादः,
तर्हि प्राशस्त्यस्वाभाविकस्य कृतेरसिध्यतः कथं प्रथमवादोऽपि भवेत् ?

उच्यते—न वा च रोदनादीनां स्वरूपेण प्राप्तिरस्ति ; विध्यन्वयितया
तु सुतरां दूरम् । तत् कथं मुख्यार्थास्यानुवादः स्यात् ? यत्र तु सम्भवति, तत्र
भवतु तथा । तस्माल्लक्षणया प्राशस्त्यमेवोपनीयते ; कस्तस्यान्वयप्रकार इति
चिन्त्यम् ।

अन्वय एवायं विभक्त्यन्वयिकरणत्वादिवत् ; न त्वस्याप्यन्वयान्तरापेक्षा
विद्यते इत्येके । तन्न ; एवं तर्हि विध्युद्देशतापत्तेः विभक्तिवत् । न च फल-
साधनत्वं प्राशस्त्यम्, येनान्वये प्रकारता स्यात् ; किं तु तद्वशादन्योत्कृष्टत्वम् ।

भवतु तर्हि विधेयविशेषत्वमेव प्राशस्त्यस्य ; ननु तस्य प्रयत्नविशेषानपेक्षस्य तदुपनेया स्तुतिरेव विधेयास्तु, प्राशस्त्येन स्वज्ञानस्योपस्थापनसम्भवात् । न चैवं विध्युद्देशत्वापात इति वाच्यम् ; तस्य प्रयोजनत्वादिति चेत् , न ; लक्षितलक्षणापत्तेः । प्राशस्त्योपस्थितिरेव स्तुतेरप्युपस्थितिः, स्वप्रकाशत्वाज्ज्ञानस्येति चेत्, न; तथाप्यर्थप्रवणतां हित्वा स्वप्रवणताकल्पने गौरवापत्तेः ।

उच्यते—विधेयोपलक्षणतया प्राशस्त्योपनयः । ननूक्तमु....[प]लक्षणमन्यव्यवच्छेदकं न भवति यथा—कमण्डुलुना छात्रमानय--इति छात्रान्तरं व्यवच्छिद्यते । न चात्र तदस्ति, अप्रशस्तस्य वायोर्व्यवच्छेदस्याभावात् । मैवम् ; न व्यावर्तकमुपलक्षणं विशेषणं वा, किं तु कार्याङ्गं सत् सम्बद्धं विशेषणम् कार्यानङ्गं सम्बद्धं चोपलक्षणम् ; व्यवच्छेदस्तु प्रयोजनमुभयोः । तदिह प्राशस्त्यस्य विधेयवाच्यादिसम्बन्धादुपलक्षणत्वमुक्तम् । न च प्रयोजनाभावो दोषः ; न हि सर्वेण प्रयोजनवता भवितव्यम् ; अस्ति तु तदिति सर्वत्रातिरेके परिहारः । न चैवमनुवादानामधिकस्यानुष्ठेयस्यानुपनेयत्वाच्चोदनान्तर्निवेशो न स्यादिति वाच्यम् ; सम्भूयकारित्वव्युत्पत्तेः अनुवादं विना कार्यज्ञानस्यासम्भवात्तस्यैवानुष्ठेय(त्व)प्रतिपादनात् । अत एवार्थवादानां प्रमाणकोटिपर्यवसायित्वमुच्यते । यद्यप्येतादृशं कार्यस्य स्वरूपे प्रमाणत्वं सर्वेषामेव विद्यते, तथापीतरेषामनुष्ठेयान्तरद्वारापि कार्ये व्यापार इति न तथा व्यपदेशः । न च विध्युद्देशेऽनाकाङ्क्षितत्वात् प्राशस्त्यस्य नान्वय इति वाच्यम् ; रक्तपटवदाकाङ्क्षोपस्थापनसम्भवात् । यथा पटपदं भवति, नैव निराकाङ्क्षं रक्तपदं पट(पद)मन्तरेण, साकाङ्क्षम् ; अतस्तद्वलात् पटस्यापि रक्ते आकाङ्क्षाकल्पनम्, तथात्रापि । न चात्रासम्भव एवाकाङ्क्षायाः; यथा हि पटस्य रक्तो गुणः, तथा प्राशस्त्यमपि वाच्यादीनाम् । न च--लक्षणिकत्वादनुवादानां नाभिधानापर्यवसानम्, अतश्च कथमाकाङ्क्षा--इति वाच्यम् ; यतः सर्वलक्षणासाधारणत्वात् । तस्मादभिधानग्रहणमुपलक्षणं तत्र, तात्पर्यापर्यवसानं तु तत्र विवक्षितम् । यद्याकाङ्क्षाकल्पने नान्विताभिधानमुभयाकाङ्क्षालक्षणत्वात् सम्बन्धस्य, तर्हि हविरुभयत्वेऽप्याकाङ्क्षाकल्पनम् ; अतः कथं तदविवक्षितमिति चेत्, न; विशेषणत्वमात्रेण हि तत्राकाङ्क्षा कल्पनम्, न तद्देश्यकाटिविशेषणत्वेनेत्यदोषः ।

तत्र प्राशस्त्यं प्रतिपदमेव लक्ष्यते ; अतो बह्वयः स्तुतय इति केचित् । तदयुक्तम्, एकस्मिन् पदे स्तुतिबुद्धेरनुपपत्तेः । अपि चैवं विध्यन्वये रोदनादीनां विधेयत्वमेव किं न स्यात् ? रुद्ररोदनं हि विधातुं न शक्यते, न तु रोदनमात्रम् । अपि चैवं क्रियाकारकभावेनान्वयः प्रतीयते, स भज्येत ; तत्त्यागे वाक्यभेदतुल्यो दोषः स्यात् । तस्मात् सम्भूय प्राशस्त्यलक्षणा ।

नन्वेवं विशकलितानां लक्षकत्वाभावादनुवादानां परस्परान्वयः प्रत्येतव्यः ; स चान्वयाभिधाने न । न चान्विताभिधानकालीना लक्षणा सम्भवति, वाक्यार्थ-प्रतीतिहेतुकत्वाल्लक्षणायाः । वाक्यैकवाक्यता चैवमनुवादविध्युद्देशयोः स्यात्, स्वार्थबोधे पर्यवसानात् । अवान्तरव्यापारतया स्वान्वयावगतिः ; अतः पदार्थप्रतीतिस्थानीयत्वादत्रोपदेशवाक्यतैवेति चेत्, न ; सर्वत्र वाक्यैकवाक्यतोच्छेदप्रसङ्गात् । यत्र द्वयमेवान्विताभिधानं कार्यविषयम्, द्वयोश्च वाक्यार्थयोः परस्परान्वयः, तत्रैकवाक्यता यथा अधिकाराङ्गवाक्ययोः कार्यभिधानेन वाक्यपर्यवसानादिति चेत्, एवं तर्ह्यकार्यार्थानामनुवादानामन्विताभिधानमेव कथम् ? कार्यान्विताभिधाननियमात्तर्कात् सिद्धार्थानामन्वयावगतिः, ततो लक्षणेति चेत्, न ; तर्कस्य प्रमाणान्तरप्रमेयतयोपस्थापकत्वात् तस्मिन् प्रमाणान्तरप्रातीतेः । न च सा विशिष्टावगतिरेव युक्ता ; अयथावस्तुविषयत्वात् । न च तत्रापि लक्षणा तथा सति तादृशेन विशिष्टेन प्राशस्त्यबुद्ध्यभावात् ।

उच्यते--प्रत्येकं पदार्थाः स्मर्यन्ते । तेषां च भेदाग्रहाद्विशिष्टैकार्थव्यवहारकारित्वं भ्रमतयावभाति । [यथा] तत्र भ्रमादभेदव्यवहारो जायते तथात्र भेदज्ञानोचितं स्मरणम्, तस्यापि व्यवहारकोटित्वात् स्मरणम्—रजतस्य रोदनप्रभवतया तद्दानं रोदनहेतुः—इति भ्रमावगते तस्यानुत्कृष्टत्वस्मरणम्, ततोऽदानस्योत्कृष्टत्वम्, ततस्तदन्वितस्वार्थो विध्युद्देशनोच्यते । एवमन्येषु निन्दानुवादिषु । प्रशंसार्थवादिषु तु....[न] प्राशस्त्यमेव प्रथमं लक्ष्यते । तस्माद्भ्रमनिमित्ता लक्षणात्र व्युत्पाद्यते । यत्र विशिष्टोऽर्थः सत्य एव, तत्र भ्रमत्वं न भवति ; किं तु तत्रापि नान्विताभिधानम् । अत एव भेदस्वाग्रहत्वान्न भ्रमत्वम् । अत एव पठन्ति “सतावासतार्थेन स्तुतिः कर्तव्या”—इति ।

अन्ये त्वाहुः—न प्राशस्त्यान्वितः स्वार्थो विध्युद्देशनोच्यते । किन्त्वनुवादपदैरन्वितस्यैव प्राशस्त्यलक्षणा । क्षिप्रफलदातृत्वे वायोर्भ्रमादध्यवगते वायव्य-

यागस्य क्षिप्रफलसाधनतारूपप्राशस्त्यमनुमानाभासरूपात् स्मरणाद्भवति । तच्च ज्ञानं लिङा यत् कर्तव्यताभिधानमपूर्वस्य कार्यम्, तत्र दुःखमयकर्ममूल-
तया नेयस्य प्रतिबन्धं वारयति । अतः प्रमाणकोटित्वमेव स्तुतेः । नन्वनुवादाः
प्रमेयमन्विताभिधाने न निवेशयन्ति; अत एवैषामप्रयोजनत्वम् । अनतिप्रयोजनत्वं
तु परिभावेनैव प्रेक्षावतां प्रतिबन्धनिवृत्तेः । यदि सर्वथा निष्प्रयोजनत्वं स्यात्,
ततः कथं लोके स्तुतिः स्यात् ? न हि तत्रायं परिहारः, न च यं वेदकर्तार इति ।

विवरणे तु—बाह्यहेतुत्वमप्रामाण्यं प्रथमपादे निरस्तम् । इदानीं तु
वेदवाक्योत्थमेवाप्रामाण्यं निरस्यत इति पादभेदः पादावान्तरसङ्गतिश्च पूर्वपक्षः
हेतुसापेक्षकार्यप्रतिपादाकत्वात् लिङस्तादृशस्वभावावधारणात् । यत्रापि हेतुर्नास्ति,
तत्रापि सापेक्षमेव कार्यं प्रतिपाद्यमिति सकलवेदप्रामाण्याक्षेपः । न च स्तावक-
त्वेनान्वयः; तथापि हेतुत्वापरित्यागात्—यस्मात् प्रशस्तोऽयम्, तस्मात् कर्तव्य
इति तदाप्यन्वयः ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—यत एव हेतुत्वेनान्वये कार्यस्य कार्यत्वं नास्ति, अत एव स्ताव-
कत्वेनान्वये न स्तुतितः कार्यम् । किं तु कार्यत एव स्तुतिः । कार्यमेव
ह्यभिधीयमानं स्वावगमाय लिङादिसहकारितया स्तुतिमपक्षेते, न तु प्राशस्त्यं
कार्यावगमे लिङ्गमिति ।

॥ इति त्रिपादीनीतिनयने अर्थवादाधिकरणम् ॥



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HINDU MYSTICISM—BY PROFESSOR S. N. DASGUPTA, M. A.,
PH. D. Harris Lectures for 1926 delivered at North-Western
University, Evanston, Illinois—The Open Court Publishing
Company—London—Chicago.

Price S. 2-00.

This neat little volume contains six lectures delivered by Professor S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., on the development of Indian Mysticism in 1926, as Harris Lectures for 1926 at North-Western University, Evanston, Illinois. The learned author attempts in these lectures to give a comprehensive and historical account of Hindu Mysticism, taking the term mysticism, not in its usual sense, but in a sense so comprehensive as to include almost every phase of Hindu thought. It is certainly commendable that the learned Professor has put together in these lectures some useful ideas about Hindu Mysticism. But, in the attempt to trace the evolution of Hindu mystic thought, the essential elements of the chief types of Hindu Mysticism are not given adequate prominence. By what mysterious process, the distinguished Professor expects his readers to be able to find any mystic element in the ill-assorted faggot of Mīmāṃsā concepts grouped together under the title *Sacrificial Mysticism*, one is at a loss to know.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

ROMANCE IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY—BY R. NAGARAJA SARMA,
M. A., L. T. PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, MADRAS.

In this polemical pamphlet, the author plays successfully the role of a rising *vaitaṇḍika*, and seeks to provide an effective catharsis to the Śāstraic side of Professor S. Radhakrishnan's great work on Indian Philosophy. If impartial students should use the polemical notices in this pamphlet in a purely academical spirit, Professor S. Radhakrishnan's work would receive a just estimate at their hands; and after passing through such criticisms, it would surely come out in its second edition as a flawless work with a glorious and genuine lustre on the conserving side, added to its present brilliance on the expository side. While certain

criticisms in this pamphlet, like the one directed against Professor S. Radhakrishnan's suggestion about *Sāṅkhyaikāntavāda* in the Nyāya-bhāṣya being akin to the Pythagorean theory of numbers, are perfectly justified, Professor S. Radhakrishnan's criticisms, as he ought not to, in his remarks about Professor S. Radhakrishnan's rendering of the word '*avyapadeśya*' in Gautama's definition of *pratyakṣa*. It would be as easy to maintain from the point of view the *Tātparyācārya* that Professor S. Radhakrishnan's rendering of the term *avyapadeśya* is not wrong, as to show that Professor S. Radhakrishnan's criticism is needlessly creating a mist over one of the alternative interpretations of that term given by Vātsyāyana in his Bhāṣya. The author of the pamphlet may well reconsider his remarks on this point in the light of the relevant portions of Uddyotakara's Nyāya-vārtika and Vācaspati-miśra's Tātparyā-ṭīkā.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

RECORDS OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

1. DIARY AND CONSULTATION BOOK OF 1704.
2. DIARY AND CONSULTATION BOOK OF 1705 AND
3. JAMES STRANGE'S "JOURNAL AND NARRATIVE OF THE COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION FROM BOMBAY TO THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA" TOGETHER WITH A CHART SHOWING THE TRACT OF THE EXPEDITION. WITH AN INTRODUCTION (IN EACH CASE).

By

MR. A. V. VENKATARAMAYYAR, M.A., L.T., *Curator, Madras Record Office*. Printed by The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. 1928. Priced, respectively, Rs. 5-8-0, Rs. 7-0-0 and Rs. 8-8-0.

THE Madras Record Office seems to have obtained a sudden access of vitality, for three volumes of the Records of Fort St. George have succeeded one another rapidly in a single year in attaining the light of day. These records are the "source-books" which can enable the historical investigator to construct a very accurate picture of the transactions of the East India Company long before it dreamt of becoming the divinely-ordained agency for the slow expansion of the protoplasm of the British Empire in the East. The Diary and Consultation Books are what will now be called, "The Minutes of the Meetings of the Governor in

Council of Fort St. George", which in those days controlled not only the affairs of this Fort but also the Company's factories on the Coast and the Far East.

These Minutes contain besides the resolutions of the Council on matters discussed by it, statements of accounts, copies of petitions, indentures and such other matter which throw light not only on the progress of the Company's trade, but accounts of the development of fortifications, dealing with the officials of the Mughal Empire, such as bribes and presents to keep them in good humour, stores of villages acquired—all of which have now become suburbs of Madras—of peculations of the—Company's officials, for those were days in which the 'pagoda tree' was very vigorously shaken, and notes about the social life of the Europeans and the Indians in the neighbourhood of the fast-growing city of Madras. A very rich mine is thus thrown open for the student of real history to delve into.

These books were all written by the writers of the Company, who were not men who possessed a public school education. Not only is the style quaint, but these writers indulge in a plethora of capitals which make their appearance wherever they are not wanted and delight in omitting punctuation marks wherever they are needed. Reading through them, though interesting in its own way, is somewhat wearisome except to those who are familiar with the eighteenth century English with all its peculiarities of style, syntax and spelling. Old Indian copies of literary masterpieces on *Ola* or birch bark too omitted punctuation marks; but that does not give the reader any trouble, for rhyme and rhythm, assonance and alliteration and other graces of poetry, besides its metrical form enable one to dispense with punctuation marks, but to read long, complicated sentences following one another endlessly without those marks or capitals where they are necessary make it rather hard work to wade through these records. We welcome therefore all the more the help that the careful editor has rendered us. He has skimmed the cream of these records and served us several dishes of it in his short and sweet introduction. Evidently the editor's tastes are catholic. He notes such varied items as these :—Dr. Bulkley claimed a palanquin allowance to enable him to go through his rounds. The reader may be reminded that palanquins were the only mode of conveyance available in Madras in those days. The quarrelsome hackney-coach driver, the patient manbuffalo

that drags the rickshaw, even the sonorous owner of the rattling jutka were then totally unknown. A new *marakkal* was struck in 1704 to prevent fraud. Toddy drawers then as now put *datura* into the liquor and this was put a stop to by the Governor Daud Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic, a great devotee of Bacchus, was presented with liquor to the value of about 30 pagodas. But it will not be fair, however tempting, to transfer to the pages of a review all the interesting notes which the editor has picked up with great trouble.

James Strange's Journal is quite a different kind of literature. The Greek spirit of adventure which animated the people of Tudor England did not die out in the Civil Wars of the eighteenth century. James Strange, we learn from the editor's introduction, was the elder brother of the Chief Justice Sir Thomas Strange, whose name is even to-day heard now and then in the Madras High Court. He undertook a voyage to the Nootka Sound in August 1785, and returned to Madras in 1787. This "Commercial Expedition to the North-west Coast of America which a view to establish fur trade between China and America was not a success from a commercial point of view"; but though the successes and failures of the East India Company's experiments are a thing of the past, the story of travel to foreign lands has a living interest and will not willingly be laid aside by readers so long as human nature is what it is. We are therefore highly thankful to the learned Curator, Madras Record Office, for rescuing from oblivion such an interesting Journal of Travel.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA—BY PROFESSOR J. N. SAMADDAR.*

This book is the second edition of the Patna University Readership Lectures delivered by the learned professor. It comprises six lectures and forms, as it were, a monograph on the history of Magadha as known to ancient India, constructed and evolved from out of the evidences afforded by and the inferences drawn from the familiar sources of Indian History, *viz.*, literature, inscriptions, excavations, sculpture and the accounts of foreign travellers. The author has dealt with this subject in four

* [Since publishing this review we hear with great regret the sad demise of the learned Professor. Ed.]

aspects which are indicated by the headings of the chapters, namely "The land we live in"; "The capitals of Magadha"; "The Edicts of Asoka"; "The University of Nālandā"; and the "Royal University of Vikramaśīla." It is indeed, a difficult task to pursue with success, the course taken by one among the numerous principalities of India amidst the labyrinths and ramifications of the woodlands of ancient Indian History and to keep one's vision fixed on this one object along the changing and kaleidoscopic panorama from the misty antiquity of the Ṛg Veda and the Brāhmaṇas, to the palmy days of the Imperial Mauryas and Guptas and ending with the rule of the Pāla dynasty and the Muhamadan invasion of Bengal. The learned professor deserves our warm congratulations for having accomplished this task with conspicuous success. He has dwelt on the 'Glories of Magadha' in the true spirit of a patriotic son of the soil, fond of the achievements of his native land and proud of the part it has played in the history of India. In the first chapter he has catalogued the contributions of Magadha to Indian civilisation and the great men it has given birth to. We cannot, however, fully endorse the statement that Kālidāsa was also a native of Magadha. In fact, "if tradition is to be relied on" it goes against it and makes him a native of Ujjain. The author has devoted the third and the fourth lectures entirely to the most glorious period of Magadhan History under the Emperor Aśoka and specially deals with the political, social and economic aspects of the edicts. He has tried to interpret some of the phrases occurring in the edicts in the light of the knowledge derived from Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra and disputes the correctness of the interpretations given by Vincent Smith and Dr. Thomas. The author has assumed without discussion that the Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya, discovered by Dr. Sama Sastri, is really the work of Cāṇakya the minister of Candragupta and that it belongs to the period of Candragupta's reign. But we have to point out that there is acute controversy among scholars as regards this. We may refer to the article of Dr. Keith on "The authenticity of the Artha Śāstra" published in the Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume wherein he says 'the only conclusion, therefore, which seems compatible with the facts is that the Artha Śāstra is not the work of Kauṭilya, minister of Candragupta.' If that is so, the theory adumbrated in these chapters will require reconsideration. Incidentally, we have also to observe that it is difficult to accept the reason given by the professor for the decline of Buddhism

in India in spite of the best efforts of Aśoka. He says "Aśoka's too strong a leading towards the sanctity of animal life produced a very marked re-action and thus produced *pari passu* a feeling against the Buddhistic religion of Aśoka". This statement must be entirely based on the supposition that the Hindus never cared for the sanctity of animal life and that this utter disregard of animal life is such a rooted characteristic of the Hindu race that there was a revulsion of feeling against the humane laws Aśoka promulgated in the Edicts. There is hardly any warrant for such a supposition.

The most note-worthy chapters in the book are those which give a detailed description of the Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla and furnish a wealth of interesting and useful information to the reader. Mention is also made of another University at Uddanḍa Pura, founded by Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla dynasty. One would expect that a history of Magadha will not be complete without a brief account at least of the contribution of Magadha to the language and literature of India, such as the Māgadhī Dialect and the Māgadhī Rīti. The author has not however dealt with it in this book. We hope he will add a chapter on this subject in the next edition.

K. BALASUBARAMANIA IYER.

"HEROES OF OLD INDIA"—By Percy Pigot. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, 38, Great Ormond Street, London : 5+83 pages. Price—10 Shillings.

The author, Percy Pigot remarks even at the outset "Believing that the west can be spiritually enlightened and philosophically enriched by a more sympathetic appreciation of the deep religious teaching which India's holy sages have given to the world and that the people of India would benefit by absorbing to themselves those principles of political liberty and individual freedom for which his own race is renowned, the author, in writing this book, has been inspired by the hope of aiding in some small measure in uniting these nations." The west has certainly got to learn much from the spiritual traditions of India, handed down by the holy sages. The author is quite right when he says, "But the west has never produced a really great religious teacher, or a single work that can rank among the sacred books of the world. On the other hand, India is richest of all the ages and continues in sacred writings and venerable tradi-

tions and in teachers, whose words have illuminated millions of followers; it is the home of Nārada and Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha, the land of the Vedas, of the Mahābhārata, of the Bhagavad Gītā and the Rāmāyaṇa. And the history of India is as grand and as great as her philosophy is illuminating and ennobling."

The volume under review deals with i. Rāma and Sītā; ii. Yudhiṣṭhira, the warrior; and iii. The Lord Buddha. In all these narratives the author shows himself to be more a 'historical novelist' than anything else. The main incidents of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, of the Mahābhārata and of the life of Lord Buddha are set forth lucidly; but at the same time the author invests them with a garb which is peculiarly his own. This makes the narrative more attractive to the western mind.

The book is neatly got up, and the printing well executed.

— T. R. CHINTAMANI.

No. 3. STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY OF. The Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

The Āraṇyaka Dynasty of Vijayanagara—Vol. I 1542-1614
By Rev. Henry Heras, S. J. Professor of Indian History. Rupees 10/- iv + 680.

The Indian Historical Research Institute attached to the St. Xavier's College deserves hearty congratulations on the excellent work done by the institute for the cause of Indian Historical Research. The work under review forms the third of their publications. Rev. Heras, S. J. the author of the work under review has been for a long time working at the history of South India and this work is the outcome of years of labour and patient research done in that field.

This book forms a sequel to that excellent work of Robert Sewell—"A Forgotten Empire." That portion of the history of Vijayanagara which has been only lightly touched upon in the work of Sewell has been taken up and dealt with at length by Father Heras. Beginning from the reign of Veṅkaṭa I the work narrates the political, social and economic conditions of the empire up to the death of Veṅkaṭa II. The author has utilized all available materials to a surprisingly great extent. As a missionary he has had free access to the documents preserved in the Archives at Pangim and other places. They are mostly in the form of letters written by the Portuguese King to his officers in India and they throw much light on contemporary events.

Most of the previous historians of the Vijayanagara dynasty had no access to the original papers themselves and consequently the present work is important in that respect. The Indian sources of the history are mainly the inscriptions that have been published in the leading Oriental Journals. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Sources of Vijayanagara History has been utilized to a large extent, though the original works referred to therein have been sparingly used by the author. Many of the works referred to are unfortunately not available in translations and consequently the author has been put to much difficulty in using those materials. When one has to depend upon others for his information, certainly some slips are sure to occur and they could not be avoided. Still the successful handling of the subject which is testified to in so many places in the volume creates for itself a very high place in Indian Historical Literature. Proper diacritical marks would have enhanced the importance of the work to a large extent, but unfortunately it has not been followed. Let us eagerly look forward for the second volume of this work.

———— T. R. CHINTAMANI.

BHASA KATHA SARA—by Y. Mahalinga Sastri B. A., B. L., Advocate, Mylapore, Madras. Two volumes.

The thirteen dramas printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in the name of Bhāsa are in many respects remarkable productions of the Sanskrit stage. Besides their high literary excellence they are eminently adapted to the stage. Bhāsa is a master in the art of story-telling, and the interest in the dramas is kept up to the last. Moreover the diction of the plays is natural and easy; and the prose passages in particular remain unsurpassed in Sanskrit literature for their simplicity and directness. Mr. Sastri has done a great service to the Sanskrit reading public by rendering the thirteen dramas in easy and elegant prose. One noteworthy feature of these renderings is that Mr. Sastri has very largely incorporated the language of the dramas in his prose, and has generally managed to tell the tales in the words of the dramatist himself; and this is a commendable idea. The two volumes remind one of the similar production of Charles Lamb with reference to the dramas of Shakespeare. Simple Sanskrit prose is still very much a desideratum and these works can advantageously be prescribed for the School Final and Intermediate examinations.

T. L. VENKATARAMA AIYAR.

NOTE WORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

April, 1928.

Vedic Studies, By A. Venkatasubba Aiyah, M. A., Ph. D.—This is a continuation of the previous articles. This portion deals with the meaning of the word *yakṣa*.

Buddhist Women, By B. C. Law, M. A., Ph. D.—This also is a continuation from the previous numbers. The article will continue.

Saurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāma Śārman (is edited as a supplement, By Sir G. A. Grierson, K. C. I. E.

May, 1928.

Deva Rāya II, By S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A.—A short account of the rule of the Vijayanagara King Deva Rāja of the first dynasty is given in this paper.

Buddhist Women.—Continued from the previous issue.

Saurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas,—is concluded.

June, 1928.

Vedic Studies, By A. Venkatasubba Aiyah, M. A. Ph. D.—August, 1928.

Meaning and Etymology of Pūjā, By Cintaharan Chakravarti M. A.—This is note on Charpentiers article and contests his derivation.

Vedic studies, By A. Venkatasubba Aiyah.—The word *yakṣa* is continued in this number also.

September, 1928.

The Home of the Upaniṣads, By Umesh Chandra Bhattacharya M. A.—The author tries to indicate the places from which the Upaniṣads could have been written. The article will continue.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY,
Vol. XIV pt. ii, June, 1928.

1. *Hedonism in Ancient India* By Charu Chandra Sinha M. A.

2. *A New Gupta King* By A. S. Altekar.

Extracts from the Devī Candragupta show clearly that Samudragupta was succeeded by his son called Rāmagupta; and

this Rāmagupta is a Gupta King so far unknown. Rāmagupta's other name was probably Śarmagupta.

The author elucidates his point by quoting the available extracts from the Devī Candragupta.

3. *Later Guptas of Magadha*, By R. D. Banerji, M.A.—The author discusses the chronology of the later Guptas and rejects Hoernle's theories which were propounded in 1903.

5. *Devendra Varman, A King of Kalinga (9th cent.)*, By Kumar Gopinath Deb.

7. *Koraṣaṇḍa Copper Plate grant of Viśākhavarman*, By Satyanarayana Rajguru.—This is a new inscription and the grantor Viśākhavarman is an unidentified person. The text of the plates is given in Roman characters.

9. *Chaurasi Grant of Śivakara Deva*, By Narayana Tripathi.—Śivakara was a king of Utkal and the present inscription of that king is edited in Roman characters with a short account of Utkal Kings.

Part III.—September, 1928.

1. *The Mahā Purāṇas*, By Dr. Haraprasad Sastri.—The author gives a brief outline of the various topics dealt with in the Mahāpurāṇas.

5. *Cup-marked stones near Rājgir* By Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

6. *Historical Date in the Garga Samhitā*, By K. P. Jayaswal M. A.—The foundation of Pāṭalipura (Puṣpapura), King Śāliśūka, and other historical facts are gathered from the Samhitā. THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, Vo. IV, part, ii, June, 1928.

Valipāllana Plates of Silāra Rāṭṭa Rāja—Śaka 932, By Haran Chandra Chakaldar.—The plates are edited in Roman characters. The plates also are printed. A short account of Rāṭṭa Rāja is also given.

Vasubandhu and Vādaśāstra, By Dr. A. B. Keith.—Uddyotakara cites a work called Vādaśāstra which the late Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana regarded to be a work of Dharmakīrti. Mr. H. R. Rangaswami Aiyangar is of opinion that it is the work of Vasubandhu and not that of Dharmakīrti. Dr. Keith supports the position of Dr. Vidyabhushana.

Study of Ancient Indian Geography, By H. C. Ray Chaudri.—The author gives the sources from which facts relating to the Geography of Ancient India could be gathered.

Rāḍha or Ancient Gaṅgā Rāṣṭra, By Nūḍolal Dey.

Astronomical Instrucments of the Hindus, By S. R. Das.

Sandhā Bhāṣā, By Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya.

The women of the Meghadūta, By Sailendranath Dhar.

Rāvaṇas Laṅkā, By G. Ramadas.—The author supports the position taken up by Sirdar Kibe and locates Laṅkā near the Vindhya.

Septemper, 1928.

Growth of Not-man in Buddhism : Rhys Davids.

The Nambi-āṇḍār-nambi, By Somasundara Desikar.—This begins a long article on the life and date of the great devotee of Vināyaka. The article is to be continued.

The Maitrakas of Valabhi : Niharrañjan Ray.—The historic importance of the dynasty known as the Maitrakas which has hitherto been miscalled the dynasty of the Valabhis, is treated in all its various phases. This throws much light upon a period in the history of Gujarat.

Hindu Calender, By Sukumar Ranjan Das.—This article shows how perfectly the Hindus from very early ages tried to get a detailed calculation of the year, month, pakṣas, days and subdivisions of a day.

Old Brāhmī Inscriptoins By Barua. Udayagiri and Khaṇḍa-giri caves.

Notes on Laṅkāvatāra By Tucci.

The chronology of the Smṛtis By Ghose.—This is a just review of the unhappy and revolutionary views of J. J. Meyer perpetuated in his "Uber das Wesender Altindischen Rechtschriften und ihr verhältniß zu einander und zu Kauṭilya."

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITIAN AND IRELAND.

April, 1928.

The unknown Co-founders of Buddhism, By C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

Pauṣkarasādi, By Jarl Charpentier.—The author tries to support the conclusions of Professor Buchler that the method of writing called Pauṣkarasādi was probably promulgated by the Grammarian Pauṣkarasādi. The author suggests that when the Aramaic script came to India, it was modified to suit Indian necessities and Pauṣkarasādi might have done it. The script might have corresponded the kharoṣṭhī.

July, 1928.

Tibetan Documents From Chinese Turkestan, By F. W. Thomas.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

April, 1928.

Haṁsa Sandeśa—a study, By K. Krishnamacharya B.A., B.L.
Economic condition of the Tevāram Period, By K. R. Subrahmanyam, M. A.

July, 1928.

Goa Viragal of the time of Hari Hara II of Vijayanagara, By Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A.

Mugal Land Revenue System, By L. L. Sundara Ram, M. A.

Rājādhirāja II By Somasundra Desikar.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY : January & April, 1928.

The Southern school of Telugu literature, By Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu.

Sulakas and Mulakas—Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri tries 'to show the futility of linguistic gymnastics' performed in identifying *sulakas* with *cholikas* and *mulakas* with *mulk* in Ibrahim Mulk. He gives ample references from the Buddhistic Jātakas, Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, and also from some inscriptions of the Khāruvelas, and Cālukyas to show that the words were used even long before Ibrahim Mulks were heard of in Indian History.

The date of Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya, By S. E. Viraraghva-charya.—The author of Nighaṇṭu Nāmamālā has produced a Dvisandhāna Mahākāvya, which has the same name of Kavirāja's production, viz., Rāghava Pāṇḍaviya. Now as Kavirāja who flourished between "650-725 A.D." refers only to two poets who could be said to have mastered śleṣa, evidently this Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya is posterior to him. He is anterior to Rājaśekhara, (880-920 A. D.) who refers to him as the author of the Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya.

Kṛṣṇa Rāya, By J. Ramayya Pantulu.—This is a brief summary of the reign of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya of Vijayanagar.

Govinda Dīkṣita : By N. K. Venkatesan.

Bhāṣyadīpa, By S.K. Ramanatha Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Kavi.—It is "boldly surmised that this Bhāṣya Dīpa must be

work of Prabhākara, referred to by various authors as Nibandhana and it is on this work that Śālikanātha wrote his commentary called the Dīpa Śikhā." This is quite different from Bhāṣya-pradīpa of Śaṅkara Bhagavan of 1400 A. D.

Notes on Dravidian, By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar.
VISVA BHARATI QUARTERLY, October, 1928.

A Peep into Patañjali : N. S. V. Aiyar.

Living Buddhism : Hans Koester.

Zarathūstra speaks again : Jaminikanta Sen.

India, the cradle of the world civilisation : Sir Arthur Keith.

Rāmāyaṇa in Malay Land.

A LETTER OF APPRECIATION.

DR. SYLVAIN LEVI.

PROFESSEUR AU COLLEGE DE FRANCE,

PRESIDENT DE LE SOCIETE ASIATIQUE, WRITES.

My Dear Sastri,

Since leaving Colombo, I have been reading the Journal of Oriental Research and during four days I stopped only for night's rest. I have enjoyed that reading immensely. It deals with so many sides of Indian science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper रस. Here is no happy or unhappy imitation of Western discussion and criticism ; many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards. Whatever the Śāstra they are working on—Vyākaraṇa, Chandas, Alaṅkāra, Mīmāṃsā, Jyotiṣa, etc., you find them familiar with the many layers of commentaries, printed or unedited which are out of the reach of Western scholars. Not only is your Journal an Indian one, it is properly South Indian, showing that the traditional love of South Indian culture far from being in danger is as active and flourishing as ever. The many papers devoted to Tamil literature and history appeal particularly to me. This is such a large field open to researches and so promising. I am more sorry and ashamed than ever that I did not include Dravidian philology in my own work. I shall try my best to impress my students in Paris that they have to push forward in that line. If one of your young men happens to come to Paris for study, I shall request him to give lectures on Dravidian languages, Literatures, and Culture. My colleague Prof. Jules Bloch, my late student, gives a regular course of Tamil in the Code des Langues Orientales. But, as you probably know, his chief interest is in Linguistics. He will be delighted to hear that a new translation of Tolkāppiyam is appearing in your Journal. This brings me to say a word about your Madras Oriental Series. Three works have so far been started : Vibhramaviveka, being very short, has been completed ; but Viṇāvāsavadatta has been stopped after the first

part, and I could not discover any information concerning the remaining parts to follow.

I see from the Review of books that, while I was in Japan, you have published an introductory essay to the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. Can you kindly dispose of one copy in my favour ?

I wish and I hope that after this happy meeting at Madras, I shall keep in regular touch with yourself and the Sanskrit Academy.

Yours sincerely,
SYLVAIN LEVI.

In modern times it is pronounced even before *c*, *t*, *p* and *r* as it is done before *k*. When this mistake began to creep in is not easily traceable.

39. *Irīyaṇ maruṇkiṇu micaimai tōṇṇum.*

∞ appears in sandhi even when the final member of the preceding word combines with the initial member of the succeeding word. Ex. *kal + tītu = ka∞ritu*, *muḷ + tītu = mu∞tītu*.

40. *Uruviṇu micaiyiṇu marukit tōṇṇu*
Moḷikkurip pellā melutti niyalā
Vāyla ma∞kāḱ kālai yāṇa.

∞ is rarely used in words denoting color, and in onomatopœic words with more than its usual quantity of half a mātrā.

Note.—This is the meaning given by Iḷampūraṇar; but Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar says that ∞ occurs with more than half a mātrā not only in words denoting color and onomatopœic words, but also in others and quotes examples for them from the works of Iṭaiccaṇkam. Most probably such examples did not exist at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār.

41. *Kuṇṇricai moḷivayi niṇṇricai niṇaikkū*
Neṭṭelut timpa rottakur reluttē.

Whenever a vowel is so lengthened as to have three mātrās or more, it is represented in script by the symbol for the long vowel followed by one or more symbols for the short vowel of the same class. Ex. *āa*, *īi*, ; *āaa*, *īii* etc.

42. *Aiau venṇu māyī reluttir*
Kikara vukara micaiṇirai vākum.

When *ai* and *au* are lengthened in such a way as to have three mātrās, they are respectively represented in script by one or more symbols of *i* and *u* after those of *ai* and *au*. Ex. *aii*, *auu*. etc.

43. *Neṭṭelut tēlē yōrelut torumoli.*

The seven long vowels alone can stand as single lettered words.

44. *Kurrelut taintu molinirai pilavē.*

No one of the five short vowels can stand as a word by itself.

45. *Ōrelut torumoli yirelut torumoli*
Yiraṇṭiraṇ ticaikkun toṭarmoli yuḷappata
Mūṇrē molinilai tōṇṇiya neriyē.

B

From usage, words may be classified in three ways:—One-lettered word, two-lettered word and word having more than two letters. Ex. ā; maṇi; varaku, korraṇ.

46. *Meyyi niyakka makaramoṭu civaṇum.*

The nature of consonants is that they are pronounced with a (to facilitate pronunciation). Refer to sūtras 19, 20 and 21.

Note:—Nacciṇārkkiniyar says that all consonants have sprung from a.

47. *Tammiyal kiḷappi nellā veluttu*
Meyṇilai mayakka māṇa millai.

When a sound denotes itself, it is not a mistake if it does not follow the grammatical rules of assimilation. Ex. valleḷut-tiyaiyiṇ ṭakāramākum. (the use of ṇ before ṭ.)

Note.—The last part of the sūtra is split by the publishers as *mayakkam māṇam illai* and in the commentary it is said that *māṇam* means *kuṛram* or fault; but *māṇam* the Sanskrit tatsama never means fault; if it is split as *āṇam* (the tadbhava of Sanskrit *hānam*), it suits well.

48. *Yaraḷa venṇu mūṇru morrak*
Kacataṭa ṇaṇanama vīroṇ rākum.

Y, r and ḷ may be followed by k, c, t, p, ṇ, ñ, n and m. Ex. vēykkurāi, vēyṅkurāi; vērkkurāi, vērṅkurāi; vīlkkurāi, vīlṅkurāi etc.

49. *Avarṇuḷ*
Rakāra lakāraṇ kurroṇ rākā.

Of them r and ḷ cannot be the final member of a word when preceded by a short vowel.

50. *Kuṇumaiyu neṭumaiyu maḷaviṇ kōṭaliṇ*
Roṭarmoli yellā neṭṭeḷut tiyala.

R or ḷ at the end of *toṭarmoli* is considered in the same way as if it follows a long vowel irrespective of its being followed by short or long vowel. Ex. akar, akaḷ etc.

Note.—Nacciṇārkkiniyar gives a different meaning.

51. *Ceyyu liṇutṭi pōli molivayi*
Nakāra makāra nīroṇ rākum.

In literary composition the word *pōlum* is changed to *pōṇṇi*

52. *Nakārai muṇṇar makāraṇ kuṇukum.*

M after ṇ in the above case is shortened (to quarter of a mātrā).

53. *Moḷip̄paṭuṭ ticaip̄piṇun terintuvē ɾicaip̄piṇu*
Meḷuttiya ɾiriyā veṇṇaṇār ṭulavar.

Learned men say that the nature or the quantity of a sound is not altered whether it conveys sense in a word, or is used simply for the sake of metre.

54. *Akara ikara maikāra mākuṁ.*

A and i when pronounced together sound like ai.

55. *Akara ukara maukāra mākuṁ.*

A and u when pronounced together sound like au.

56. *Akarat tim̄par yakaraṭ ṭuḷḷiyu*
Maiye neṭuṇciṇai meṭṭer̄at tōṇṇuṁ.

A and y also when pronounced together sound like ai.

57. *Ōraḷa ṭāku miṭaṇuṁā ruṇṭē*
Tēruṇ kālai moḷivayi nāṇa.

In certain positions in words the above-mentioned 'ai' has only one mātrā. Ex. Itaiyaṇ, maṭaiyaṇ etc.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar say that 'au' also sometimes has one mātrā in the same way as ai.

58. *Ikara yakara miṇuti viravum.*

The symbol i is sometimes used for y at the end of words. Ex. Nāi for Nāy.

59. *Paṇṇī ruyiru moḷimuta lākum.*

All the twelve vowels can each stand as the initial member of a word.

60. *Uyirmey yallaṇa moḷimuta lākā.*

Any consonant, unless it is followed by a vowel, cannot stand as the initial member of a word.

61. *Katana ṭamaveṇṇu māvaṇi teluttu*
Mellā vuyiroṭuṇ cellumār mutalē.

K, t, n, p and m can be followed by any vowel when they stand initially.

62. *Cakarak kiḷaviyu mavarrō rarrē*
A ai auveṇṇu mūṇṇalaṇ kaṭaiyē.

C can similarly stand initially except when it is followed by a, ai and au.

63. *U ū o ō veṇṇu nāṇkuyir*
Va eṇ neḷuttoṭu varuta lillai.

V is not followed by u, ū, o and ō when it stands initially.

64. *Ā e*[*Oeṇu mūvuyir ṇakārat turiya.*

Ñ is followed only by ā, e or o when it stands initially.

65. *Āvō ṭallatu yakara mutalātu.*

Y does not stand initially unless it is followed by ā.

66. *Mutalā vēṇa tampeyar mutalum.*

All consonants can stand initially whatever be the vowels that follow them when they denote themselves.

67. *Kurriya lukara muraipeyar maruṇki**Norriya nakaramicai nakaramoṭu mutalum.*

Ū follows the initial n of personal pronouns followed by words denoting relationship. Ex. Nūntai. (Num + tantai)

68. *Murriya lukaramoṭu poruḷvēru paṭāa**Tappeyar maruṇki ṇilaiyiya lāṇa.*

Ū in words like nūntai serves the same purpose as u without altering the meaning as it does elsewhere.

69. *Uyirau vēṇciya viṇṇuti yākuṁ.*

All vowels except au can each stand as the final member of a word.

70. *Kavavō ṭiyaiyi nauvu mākuṁ.*(But) even au can stand finally if it is preceded by k or v.
Ex. kau, vau.71. *Eeṇa varumuyir meyyi rākātu.*

E cannot stand finally if it is preceded by a consonant.

72. *Orvu marṛē navvalaṇ kaṭaiyē.*

O too cannot similarly stand finally if it is preceded by any consonant except n. Ex. No in 'no korṛā'.

73. *Ē Ō eṇumuyir ṇakārat tillai.*

Ē or Ō cannot stand finally if it is preceded by ṇ.

74. *Uū kāra navavoṭu navilā.*

U and ū cannot stand finally if each is preceded by n and v.

75. *Ucca kāra mirumolīk kurittē.*

U preceded by c stands finally only in two words. Ucu, mucu.

76. *Uppa kāra moṇṇena molipa**Viruvayi ṇilaiyum poruṭṭā kummē.*

U preceded by p occurs only in one word; it gives active sense or causal sense according to the way in which it is pronounced. Ex. Tapu. When it is pronounced in high tone, it means 'make another die'; but when it is pronounced in low tone, it means 'die'.

77. *Eñciya vellā meñcuta lilavē.*

There is no objection to use the vowel-consonants that cannot stand as final members of words, as final members if they denote themselves.

78. *Nānanama nayarala valāḷa venṇu
Maṇṇati nonrē pulḷi yiruti.*

Only the eleven consonants ñ, ṇ, n, m, ṇ, y, r, l, v, ḷ, and ḷ can stand finally.

79. *Ucca kāramoṭu nakārañ civaṇum.*

N can stand finally only in two words as u preceded by c. Ex. Porun, verin.

80. *Uṇṇa kāramoṭu ñakāraiṇu marṇē
yapporu ḷiraṭṭā tivaṇai yāṇa.*

Ñ can stand finally only in one word as u preceded by p, but, unlike it, it has only one meaning. Ex. Uriñ.

81. *Vakarak kiḷavi nāṇmoli yirratu.*

V can stand finally only in four words. Ex. Av, iv, uv and tev.

82. *Makarat toṭarmoli mayāṅkutaḷ varainta
Nakarāt toṭarmoli yonṇaṣṣa tenṇa
Pukararak kiḷanta vaṣṣiṇai mēṇa.*

It is said that there are nine words of neuter gender in which ṇ stands finally without having the chance of being substituted by m. Ex. Ekiṇ, cekiṇ, viḷaṇ, payiṇ, kuyiṇ, alaṇ, puḷaṇ, kaṭaṇ, and vayāṇ.

(Wordology ends.)

3. Pirappiyal (Chapter on production of sounds).

83. *Unti mutalā muntuvaḷi tōṇrit
Talaiyiṇu miṭarriṇu neñciṇu nilaiṇ
Pallu mitaḷu nāvu mūḷku
Maṇṇamu mūḷappaṭa venmuraḷi nilaiyā
Nuruppur ramaiya neripṇaṭa nāṭi
Yellā veluttuñ colluṇ kālaiṇ
Pirappi nāḷkam vēruvē riyala
Tirappaṭat teriyuṇ kāṭci yāṇa.*

It will be evident on careful observation that all the sounds (in Tamil language) are but the results of the modifications which the air undergoes in starting from navel and passing

through the eight parts chest, neck, head, tongue, hard palate, teeth, lips and nose.

Note.—It may be interesting to note that the eight parts mentioned above exactly coincide with those mentioned in the Pāṇinīya śikṣā :—

*Aṣṭāu sthānāni varṇānāmuraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śirastathā
Jihvāmūlaṅca dantāśca nāsikōṣṭhāu ca tālu ca*

But Jihvāmūla is translated above as nāḱku instead of nāḱkiṇ aṭi.

84. *Avvali*
Paṇṇī ruyirun tannilai tiriya
Miṭarrup pīranta valiyi nīcaikkum.

All the twelve vowels are produced by the air starting from navel and passing through the neck without undergoing any modification.

85. *Avarru!*
Aā āyiran taṅkān tiyalum.

Of them a and ā are produced by opening the mouth (*i.e.*) a and ā are open sounds.

86. *I ī e ē aiyena vīcaikku*
Maṭṭā lāintu mavarrō raṇṇa
Vavaitā
Maṇṇan mutanā viḷimpura luṭaiya.

The five sounds i, ī, e, ē and ai are similarly open sounds and are produced by the tip of the tongue approaching the upper gums.

87. *U ū o ṭ auveṇa vīcaikku*
Maṭṭā lāintu mitalkuvīn tiyalum.

U, ū, o, ṭ and au (being similarly open) are produced by rounding the lips.

88. *Tattan tiripē cīriya veṇṭa.*

It is said that the difference among themselves [(*i.e.*) the sounds having the same organ of articulation] is slight.

89. *Kakāra ṇakāra mutanā vaṇṇam.*

K and ṇ are produced by the contact of the root of the tongue with the root of the hard palate.

90. *Cakāra ṇakāra miṭainā vaṇṇam.*

C and ṇ are produced by the contact of the middle of the tongue with the middle of the hard palate.

91. *Takāra ṇakāra nuṇinā vaṇṇam.*

T and ṇ are produced by the contact of the tip of the tongue with the front of the hard palate.

Note.—These two sounds t and ṇ are alveolar according to Tolkāppiyāṇār; but at present they are pronounced by rounding the tongue and allowing it to touch the uppermost part of the hard palate exactly in the same way as ṭ and ṇ are pronounced in Sanskrit. Hence it is worth investigation whether the Sanskrit ṭ and ṇ were borrowed from the Dravidian languages. The original pronunciation of Tamil t and ṇ is preserved even now in Malayalam.

92. *Avvā reluttu mūvakaiṇ pīraṇṇa.*

Hence the above-mentioned six sounds have three different organs of articulation.

Note.—This sūtra is not quite necessary.

93. *Aṇṇa naṇṇiya paṇṇuṭaṇ maruṇki
Nānuṇi paṇṇuṭu meyyuṇa vorraṭ
Tāmiṇiṭu pīraṇṇuṭu takāra ṇakāram.*

T and n are produced by the extended tip of the tongue completely touching the upper gums.

94. *Aṇari nuṇinā vaṇṇa morra
Raṣkā ṇaṣkā nāyiraṇṇuṭu pīraṇṇuṭu.*

R and ṇ are produced by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate.

95. *Nuṇinā vaṇari yaṇṇam varuṭa
Rakāra lakāra māyiraṇṇuṭu pīraṇṇuṭu.*

R and l are produced by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently rub against the hard palate.

96. *Nāvilimpu vīṇki yaṇṇuṭu mutaluṇa
Vāvai naṇṇa morraṇṇuṭu varuṭaṇṇuṭu
Lakāra lakāramā yiraṇṇuṭu pīraṇṇuṭu.*

L and ! are produced by the extended tip of the tongue respectively touching the upper gums and rubbing against them.

97. *Italiyaintu pīraṇṇuṭu pakāra makāram.*

P and m are produced by the contact of the lips.

98. *Pallita liyaiya vakāram pīraṇṇuṭu.*

V is produced by the contact of the (upper) row of teeth and the (lower) lip.

99. *Annañ cērnta mītarreḷu vaḷiyicai*
Kannur rātaiya yakāram pīrakkum.

Y is produced by allowing the air which passes through the neck to pass very close to the hard palate.

100. *Melleḷut tārum pīrappi nākkāñ*
Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṇa vāyiṇu
Mūkkiṇ vaḷiyicai yāppurat tōṇrum.

The six melleḷuttu noted above (*i. e.*) ṇ, ṇ̄, ṇ̄, n, m and ṇ̄ have the nose as an additional organ of articulation.

101. *Cārntuvari nallatu tamakkiyal pilaveṇat*
Tērntuvelip paṭutta vēṇai mūṇṇun
Tattañ cārpiṇ pīrappoṭu civaṇi
Yotta kāṭciyir rāmmiyal piyalum.

The three secondary sounds (*i. e.*) ĩ, ũ and ȡ have the same organ of articulation as the consonant which stands as their support (*i. e.*) the consonant which precedes them in the case of ĩ and ũ and that which succeeds it in the case of ȡ.

102. *Ellā veluttum velippataḷ kilāntu*
Colliya paḷḷi yelutaru vaḷiyir
Pīrappoṭu viṭuvali yuralcci vārat
Takattelu vaḷiyicai yarirāpa nāṭi
Yalāpiṇ kōṭa lantaṇar maraittē.

The nature of the origin of the air which starts from navel and the modifications which it undergoes before it comes out as an articulated sound and of its quantity therein is clearly discussed in the scriptures of Brahmans.

103. *Aṣṭiva nuvalā teluntupurat ticaikku*
Meyteri vaḷiyicai yaḷavunuvaṇ ricinē.

I have here mentioned only about the quantity of the articulated sounds without mentioning anything about what is mentioned in detail in the scriptures of Brahmans.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar takes the sūtras 102 & 103 as two while Naccinārkkiniyar as one.

(Pīrappiyal ends.)

4. Puṇariya¹ (Chapter on Sandhi).

104. *Mūṇrutalai yiṭṭa muppatir relutti*
Niraṇṭutalai yiṭṭa mutalā kirupaṣ.

¹ This chapter deals only with the classification, and the general principles, of Sandhi.

Tarunāṇ kīrroṭu nerinṇi riyaḷu
Mellā moḷikku mirutiṇu mutalu
Meyyē yuyiren rāyī riyala.

Of the thirty three sounds consisting of vowels and consonants, twenty-two can stand as the initial member of words and twenty-four as the final member.

105. *Avarrul*

Meyyī rellām pulliyoṭu nilaiyal.

Of them, the final consonants are each provided with a dot.

Note.—This sūtra deals with the symbol of final consonants, but its purpose may, as well, be served by 15th sūtra in Nūṇmarapu.

106. *Kurriya lukaramu marrena moḷipa.*

The same is the case with Kurriyalukaram.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar interpret this sūtra to mean that kurriyalukaram allows the succeeding vowel to take its place as final consonants. It seems that this does not suit the context.

107. *Uyirmey yīru muyirṇ riyarṇē.*

The final vowel-consonant is of the same nature as the final vowel.

Note.—This sūtra, though unnecessary, finds a place here since Tamils sometimes take vowel-consonants too as unit sounds.

108. *Uyirīru conmu nuyirvaru valiṇu*
Muyirīru conmun meyvaru valiṇu
Meyyīru conmu nuyirvaru valiṇu
Meyyīru conmun meyvaru valiyumen
Rivvena variyak kiḷakkuṇ kālai
Nirutta collē kurittuvaru kiḷaviyēṇ
Rāyī riyala puṇarnilaic cuttē.

Sandhi takes place between the final member of a word and the initial member of the succeeding word and it is classified under four heads :—Vowel following a vowel, consonant following a vowel, vowel following a consonant and consonant following a consonant.

109. *Avarrul*

Nirutta colli nīrā keluttoṭu
Kurittuvaru kiḷavi mutaleḷut tiyaiyaṇ
Peyaroṭu peyaraip puṇarkkuṇ kālum

C

Peyaroṭu toḷilaip puṇarkkuṇ kālun
Toḷiloṭu peyaraip puṇarkkuṇ kālun
Toḷiloṭu toḷilaip puṇarkkuṇ kālun
Mūṇrē tiripita nonrē yiyalpeṇa
Vāṇkan nāṇkē molipuna riyalpē.

When Sandhi takes place between the final member of the 'standing word', and the initial member of the succeeding word, both the standing word and the succeeding word or either of them may be nouns and verbs; there are four cases of sandhi in three of which change takes place and there is no change in the fourth.

110. *Avaitām*

Meyṭiri tātaṇ mikutaḷ kunṇaleṇ
Rivveṇa molipa tiriya mārē.

They [(i.e.) Sandhi with change] are assimilation, insertion and elision. Ex. maṇ + kuṭam = maṭkuṭam; yānai + kōṭu = yānaik-kōṭu; maram + vēr = maravēr.

111. *Nirutta colluṇ kurittuvaru kiḷaviyu*

Maṭaiyoṭu tōṇṇinum puṇarnilaik kuriya.

Sandhi (in Tamil language) admits the insertion of a particle between the final letter of the standing word and the initial letter of the succeeding word. Ex. āyiram + oṇru = āyirattonru.

112. *Maruvīṇ rokuti mayāṅkiyaṇ moliyu*

Muriyavai yulavē puṇarnilaic cuttē.

In sandhi the order of certain *marūu* or colloquial words is sometimes inverted. Ex. il + muṇ = muṇril.

113. *Vērrumai kuṛitta puṇarmoli nilaiyum*

Vērrumai yaḷvaliṭ puṇarmoli nilaiyum

Meluttē cāriyai yāyiru paṇṇi

Nolukkal valiya puṇaruṇ kālai.

Sandhi may take place both when the standing word and the succeeding word stand in case-relation to each other and when they are not in case-relation to each other. In sandhi either letter or cāriyai (flexional increment) may be inserted between the two words.

114. *Aioṭu kuṇ atukaṇ ṇeṇṇu*

Mavvā reṇṇa vērrumai yurupē.

Case suffixes are six in number viz. ai, oṭu, ku, iṇ, atu, and kaṇ.

115. *Valleluttu mutaliya vērrumai yurupir*
Kolvali yorritai mikutal vēṇṭum.

A voiceless consonant or a nasal must be inserted between the base and the case-suffix that commences with a voiceless consonant (*i.e.*) Ku of the fourth case and Kaṇ of the seventh case. Ex. maṇi + ku = maṇikku; maṇi + kaṇ = maṇikkaṇ; nam + kaṇ = naṇkaṇ.

Note.—In nam + kaṇ, m is dropped and ñ is inserted.

116. *Āra nurupi nakarak kilavi*
yīrā kakaramunaik keṭutal vēṇṭum.

The a of atu, the sixth case suffix, is dropped if the base ends in a. Ex. nama + atu = namatu.

Note.—A is added to nam according to the sūtra 162.

117. *Vērrumai valiya peyarpuṇar nilaiyē.*

Case-suffix is suffixed to the base.

118. *Uyartiṇaiṭ peyarē yaṣṣiṇaiṭ peyaren*
Rāyiran teṇṇa peyarnilaic cuṭṭē.

Nouns denoting objects are of two kinds:—Uyartiṇai and Aṣṣiṇai.

Note.—Nouns denoting rational beings are uyartiṇai and the rest aṣṣiṇai.

119. *Avarruvali maruṇkiṭ cāriyai varumē.*

Flexional increment or cāriyai is suffixed to them [(*i.e.*) the above-mentioned nouns].

120. *Avāitām*
Inṇē varrē yattē yammē
Yonṇē yāṇē yakkē yikkē
Yanṇen kilavi yulaṭṭaṭaṭ piṇavu
Maṇṇa venṇa cāriyai moliyē.

The flexional increments are in, varru, attu, am, on, ān, akku, ikku, aṇ etc.

121. *Avarruḷ*
Inṇi nīkara māvi nīruti
Munṇark keṭuta lurittu māḱum.

I of in is optionally dropped after the final ā of the base or standing word. Ex. ā + in + ai = āṇai or āviṇai.

122. *Alavāku molimuta nilaiya vuyirmicai*
Naṣṣkāṇ raṣṣkā nākiya nilaittē.

N of in is changed to r before words denoting measure.
Ex. pattu + in + ulaḱku = patirruḷakku.

123. *Vaṣkāṇ meykētaṣ cuṭṭumula laimmu*
Naṣkā nīrṛa lākiya paṇṇē.

V of varṛu is dropped after the words beginning with the demonstrative root (a, i, u) and ending in ai. Ex. avai + varṛu + ai = avarṛai.

124. *Naṣkāṇ raṣkā nāṇka nūrupirku.*

N of in, on, ān and an is changed to r before ku, the fourth case suffix. viḷa + in + ku = viḷavirku.

125. *Āni ṇakaramu matanō rarre*
Nāṇmun varūum vaṇmutar roḷirkē.

N of ān is similarly changed to r when it comes between a noun denoting a star and a verb beginning with a voiceless consonant. Ex. paraṇi + ān + koṇṭān = paraṇiyārkoṇṭān.

126. *Atti ṇakara makaramunai yillai.*

A of attu is dropped after words ending in a. Ex. makam + attu + kai = makattukkai.

Note.—The final m of makam is dropped according to the sūtra 332.

127. *Ikki ṇikara mikaramunai yarrē.*

I of ikku is dropped if the base or the standing word ends in i. Ex. āṭi + ikku + koṇṭān = āṭikkukkoṇṭān.

128. *Aiyiṇ munṇaru mavviya ṇilaiyum.*

I of ikku is dropped even if the base or the standing word ends in ai. Ex. cittirai + ikku — koṇṭān = cittiraikkukkoṇṭān.

129. *Eppeyar munṇarum valleḷuttu varuvali*
Yakki nīrutimeym micaiyoṭuṇ keṭumē
Kurriya lukara murrat tōṇṛātu.

Kku of akku is dropped when the latter is inserted between any noun and a word beginning with a voiceless consonant. Ex. Tamil + akku + nūl = tamiḷanūl.

130. *Anmi nīruti kacatak kālait*
Taṇmey tirintu ṇaṇana vākum.

M of am is changed to ṇ, ñ and n when it is followed by k, c and t respectively. Ex. puḷi + am + kōṭu = puḷiyaṇkōṭu; similarly, puḷiyaṇcēṭil, puḷiyantōl.

131. *Meṇmaiṇ miṭaimaiyum varūuṇ kālai*
Yiṇmai vēṇṭu meṇmaṇār pulavar.

Learned men say that *m* of *am* is dropped when it is followed by a nasal or a semivowel. Ex. *puḷi + am + ñeri = puḷiya-ñeri*; similarly *puḷiyanuṇi*, *puḷiyamuṭi*, *puḷiyayāl* etc.

Note — Iḷampūraṇar adds that the same is the case even when *m* is followed by a vowel. Ex. *puḷiyavilai*.

132. *Inneṇa varūm vērrumai yuruṭir*
Kinneṇ cāriyai yinmai vēṇṭum.

The flexional increment *iṇ* is dropped before the case suffix *iṇ*. Ex. *viḷaviṇ*.

133. *Peyarun tolilum pirintoruṇ kicaiṭṭa*
Vērrumai yuruṭu nilaiṭeru valiyun
Tōrram vēṇṭāt tokutik kaṇṇu
Moṭṭutar kolukiya valakkoṭu civaṇi
Coṇcitar maruṇkiṇ valivantu viḷaṅkā
Tiṭainin riyaluṇ cāriyai yiyarkai
Yuṭaimaiyu miṇmaiṇu moṭuvayi nokkum.

When a noun is followed by a verb or a verbal noun, flexional increment is inserted, in sandhi, according to usage between the base of the noun and the case suffix or after the base if the case suffix is dropped, though when the two words (noun and verb or noun and verbal noun) are separately read, the flexional increment disappears. Between the base and the case suffix *oṭu*, it (flexional increment) both appears and disappears. Ex. *viḷaviṇai-k-kuṇaittaṇ*, *viḷaviṇai-k-kuṇaittavaṇ*; *nilāttu-k-koṇṭāṇ*, *nilāttukkoṇṭavaṇ*; *pūviṇoṭuvirinta-kūntal*, *pūvoṭuvirinta-kūntal*.

134. *Attē varre yāyiru molimē*
Loṇṇumey keṭuta rerreṇ rarrē
Yavarṇumun varūm valḷeḷuttu mikumē.

The consonant that precedes the flexional increments *attu* and *varṇu* is dropped, while that which follows them is doubled. Ex. *kalam + attu + kuṇai = kalattu-k-kuṇai*; *av + varṇu + kōṭu = avarṇu-k-kōṭu*.

135. *Kāramuṇ karamuṇ kāṇoṭu civaṇi*
Nērat tōṇru meluttin cāriyai.

Kāram, *karam* and *kāṇ* are the flexional increments used when naming a letter. Ex. *akāram*, *ikāram* etc.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar says that *āṇam* and *ōṇam* were used instead of *ākāram*, *ōkāram*.

136. *Avarṛuḷ*

Karamuṇ kāṇu netṭelut tilavē.

Of them karam and kāṇ are not used along with long vowels.

137. *Varaṇmuṛai mūṇṇuṇ kurreḷut tuṭaiya.*

All the above three are used along with short vowels.

138. *Aikāra aukāraṇ kāṇoṭṭuṇ tōṇṇum.*

But kāṇ also is used along with ai and au.

139. *Puḷḷi yīṇṇumunṇ nuyirtaṇit tiyalātu*

Meyyoṭṭuṇ civaṇu mavviyal keṭuttē.

Vowel following a consonant cannot stand by itself, but mingles itself with the preceding consonant.

Note.—This sūtra evidently deals with *symbols* and not *sounds*. Ex. மரம் + அது = மரமது.

140. *Meyyuyir nīṇkiṇ ṛaṇṇuru vākum.*

The consonant takes its original form when it is separated from the vowel which follows it. Ex. மரமுண்டு = மரம் உண்டு.

Note.—This sūtra also deals with *symbols*.

141. *Ellā moliḱku muyirvaru valiṇyē*

Yuṭaṇpaṭu meyyi nūruvukōḷal varaiyār.

It is not prohibited to write a suitable consonant between words of which the preceding one ends in a vowel and the succeeding one begins in a vowel. Ex. puli + aṇkē = puli(y) aṇkē.

Note.—Tolkāppiyaṇār has not clearly stated here what those consonants are. But they are generally the semi-vowels y and v, as is seen from the later sūtras.

142. *Eluttō raṇṇa poruṭeri puṇarcci*

Yicaiyīṇ ṛirita nīlaiya paṇṇē.

Words though similar in form take different kinds of sandhi according to the way in which they are pronounced.

143. *Avaitām*

Munṇaṇ poruḷa puṇarcci vāyi

Ninna venna meluttukkāṭa nīlavē.

Since the meaning of such words is determined from the context, they are not bound to a particular rule of sandhi.

(Puṇariyal ends.)

5. Tokaimarapu

(Chapter on the traditional sūtras on sandhi taken collectively.)

144. *Kacatapa mutaliya molimēr rōnru*
Mellelut tiyarkai colliya muraiyān
Nañanama vennu morrā kummē
Yanṇa marapiṇ molivayi nāna.

The nasal sound that can appear before k, c, t and p is respectively ṇ, ñ, ṇ and m. Ex. Vilaṅkōṭu, viḷaṅcetiḷ, viḷantōl, viḷampū.

145. *Ñanama yavavenu mutalāku moliyu*
Muyirmuta lākiya moliyu muḷappata
Vanri yaṇaittu mellā valiyu
Ninra conmu niyalpā kummē.

When the initial member of the succeeding word is ñ, n, m, y or any vowel, no change takes place in sandhi whatever be the final member of the standing word. Ex. Viḷa ñāṇratu, viḷa nīṇṭatu etc.

146. *Avarruḷ*
Mellelut tiyarkai yuraliṇum varaiyār
Colliya toṭarmoli yiruti yāna.

None prevents the optional insertion of a nasal after the final member of a toṭarmoli and before the letters mentioned in the previous sūtra.

Note.—For the meaning of toṭarmoli, refer to sūtra 45.

147. *Naṇaven pullimun yāvu ñāvum*
Vinaiyō ranaiya venmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that if y is the initial member of a verb and if it stands after a word which ends in ṇ or ṇ, ñ is optionally substituted for it. Ex. Maṇ yāṭta or maṇ ñāṭta.

148. *Molimuta lāku mellā veluttum*
Varuvali ninra vāyiru pulliyum
Vērrumai yalvalit tiripīṭa nilavē.

No change takes place if ṇ or ṇ is the final member of a word and it is followed by another which does not stand in case relation to it. Ex. Maṇ kaṭitu etc.

149. *Vērrumaik kaṇṇum vallelut talvali*
Mērkū riyaṅkai yāvayi nāna.

Similar is the case even when the succeeding word stands in case relation to the standing word if the former does not begin with a voiceless consonant. Ex. Maṇ nīṭci.

150. *Lana veṇavarūm pulḷi munnart*
Tana veṇavarir raṇavā kummē.

If t and n are the initial member of the succeeding word and l and ṇ are the final member of the standing word, the former are respectively changed to ṛ and ṇ. Ex. kal + tītu = kaṣṛītu; kal + naṇru = kaṇṇaṇru; poṇ + tītu = poṇṛītu; poṇ + naṇru = poṇṇaṇru.

Note.—For the change of the final l and n of the preceding word, refer to the corresponding sūtras in *Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal*.

151. *Naḷaven pulḷimun taṇavenat tōṇrum.*

The same t and n are changed to ṭ and ṇ if they are preceded by ṇ and ḷ. Ex. Maṇ + tītu = maṇṭītu; Maṇ + naṇru = maṇṇaṇru; Muḷ + tītu = muṣṭītu; Muḷ + naṇru = muṇṇaṇru.

152. *Uyirī rākiya munṇilaik kiḷaviyūm*
Puḷḷi yiruti munṇilaik kiḷaviyu
Miyalṭā kunavu muḷalā kunavumen
Rāyī riyala valḷeḷuttu varinē.

If the standing word is a verb of the second person ending in a vowel or a consonant and the initial member of the succeeding word is a voiceless consonant, there is either no change in sandhi or the latter voiceless consonant is optionally doubled. Ex. Eṛi korṛā ; uṇ korṛā ; naṭa korṛā, naṭa(k)korṛā ; ir korṛā, ir(k)korṛā.

153. *Auvena varūu muyiriru collum*
Ṇanamava venṇum pulḷi yirutiyaṇ
Kurriya lukarat tirutiya muḷappaṭa
Murṛat tōṇrā munṇilai molikkē.

If the final member of the standing word mentioned in the previous sūtra is au, ṇ, n, m, or u, the change mentioned there does not operate completely. Ex. kau + korṛā = Kau(vu)(k)-korṛā; uriṇ + korṛā = uriṇ(u)korṛā or uriṇ(u)(k)korṛā etc.

Note.—For the insertion of u refer to the corresponding sūtras in *Uyirmayaṅkiyal* and *Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal*.

154. *Uyirī rākiya yuyartiṇaiṭ peyarum*
Puḷḷi yiruti yuyartiṇaiṭ peyaru
Mellā valiyu miyalpeṇa molīṭa.

No change takes place in sandhi when the standing word is uyartiṇai whether the succeeding word is in case-relation to it or not. Ex. nampi kuriyaṇ, nampi māṇṭāṇ, nampi yāvaṇ,

Nampi aṭaintāṇ; Avaṇ kuṛiyaṇ, Avaṇ māṇṭāṇ, Avaṇ yāvaṇ, Avaṇ aṭaipu; Nampi kai etc.; Avaṇ kai, etc.

155. *Avaṛṛuḷ*

Ikara viruṇṇeyar tiripṇa nuṭaittē.

Of them some of the nouns ending in 'i' undergo change in sandhi. Ex. Eṭṭi + pū = Eṭṭippū.

Note.—Here Eṭṭi is not the name of a tree, but a local title.

156. *Aṣṛiṇai viravupṇeya riyalṇumā ruḷavē.*

Such of those uyartiṇai nouns which are used as aṣṛiṇai also do not, sometimes, have the change. Ex. Cāṭṭaṇ kuṛiyaṇ, etc.

Note.—Cāṭṭaṇ is the name of a person here given to an animal.

157. *Puḷḷi yirutiṇu muyiriṇu kiḷaviṇu
Valleḷuttu mikuti colliya muraṇiyār
Rammi nākiya toḷiṇcon munṇvarin
Meymmai yākalu muraḷat tōṇṇalu
Mammuraṇi yiraṇṇu muriyavai yuḷavē
Vēṛṛumai maruṇkiṇ ṇōṇṇal vēṇṇum.*

If a noun (with its third case-suffix dropped) ends in a vowel or consonant and is followed by a verb which denotes its action and which begins with such a letter as admits its doubling (according to the rules mentioned in *Uyirmayaṇkiyal* and *Puḷḷi-mayaṇkiyal*), there is no change or the doubling of the initial letter of the succeeding word is optional. Ex. Nāykōṭṇaṭṭāṇ, pulikōṭṇaṭṭāṇ; cūrḷkōṭṇaṭṭāṇ, cūr(k)kōṭṇaṭṭāṇ.

158. *Melleḷuttu mikuvali valippōṭu tōṇṇalum
Valleḷuttu mikuvali meliṇṇōṭu tōṇṇalu
Miyarḷkai maruṇkin mikarḷkai tōṇṇalu
Muyirmika varuvali yuyirkeṇa varutaluṇ
Cāriyai yuḷvaliṇ cāriyai keṇutaluṇ
Cāriyai yuḷvaliṇ tanṇurupṇu nilaiyaluṇ
Cāriyai yiyarḷkai yuraḷat tōṇṇalu
Muyartiṇai maruṇki noliyātu varutalu
Maṣṛiṇai viravupṇeyarḷ kavviya nilaiyalu
Meyṇiri tākiṇat tiyarḷkai yātalu
Manna ṇiravun tanṇiyaṇ maruṇkin
Meyṇerak kiḷantu ṇorḷvarain ticaikku
Māikāra vēṛṛumait tiripēṇa molipa.*

D

The different kinds of sandhi which take place between the standing word and the coming word when the former is of the second case with the case suffix *ai* or without it are as follows:—
 (1) Insertion of a voiceless consonant for the nasal or (2) *vice versa*; (3) insertion (of a letter or letters) when there should be no change; (4) absence of a vowel which ought to have been inserted; (5) absence of flexional increment where it ought to be; (6) presence of 'ai' itself along with the flexional increment; (7) optional insertion of letters instead of flexional increment; (8) invariable presence of 'ai' at the end of *uyartiṇai* words and *viravuppeyar*; (9) absence of change when there ought to have been assimilation and substitution etc., Ex. (1) *viḷakkuraittāṇ* for *viḷaṅkuraittāṇ* (*viḷa* + *am* + *kuṛaittāṇ*); (2) *marañkuraittāṇ* for *marakkuraittāṇ* (*maram* + *kuṛaittāṇ*); (3) *tāy(k)kolai* for *tāykolai*; (4) *palākkuraittāṇ* for *palāakkuraittāṇ*; (5) *vaṇṭukoṇarntāṇ* for *vaṇṭuṅkoṇarntāṇ*; (6) *vaṇṭiṇaikkōṇarntāṇ* for *vaṇṭuṅkoṇarntāṇ*; (7) *puḷikuraittāṇ* or *puḷikkuraittāṇ* for *puḷiyaṅkuraittāṇ*; (8) *nampiyaikkōṇarntāṇ*; *koṛṛaṇaikkōṇarntāṇ*; (9) *poṅkoṇarntavan* for *poṅkoṇarntavan*.

159. *Vērrumai yalvali iai yenṇu*
Mirruppeyark kiḷavi mūvakai nilaiya
Vavaitā
Miyalpā kunavum valleḷuttu mikunavu
Muralā kunavu menmaṇār pulavar.

If the standing word ends in *i* or *ai* and if it does not stand in case relation to the succeeding word, there are 3 possible cases of sandhi:—(1) absence of any change; (2) insertion of a voiceless consonant and; (3) optional insertion of the same. Ex. (1) *Parutti kuṛitu*, *kārai kuṛitu*; (2) *Māci(t)tiṅkaḷ*, *cittirai(t)tiṅkaḷ*; (3) *kiḷi kuṛitu*, *kiḷi(k)kuṛitu*; *tiṇai kuṛitu*, *tiṇai(k)kuṛitu*.

160. *Cuṭṭumuta lākiya vikara viṛutiṇu*
Mekaramutal viṇāvi nīkara viṛutiṇu
Cuṭṭuccinai nīṭiya vaiye nīṛutiṇu
Yāveṇ viṇāvi nāiye nīṛutiṇu
Valleḷuttu mikunavu muralā kunavu
Colliyaṇ maruṅki nūḷaveṇa molīpa.

When the standing word begins with a demonstrative root or the interrogative root 'e' and ends in *i*, or when it begins with the lengthened form of the demonstrative root or *yā*, the initial member of interrogative pronouns, and ends in *ai*, a voiceless

consonant is inserted between it and the succeeding word either primarily or optionally. Ex. Atōḷi(k)koṇṭāṇ, etōḷi(k)koṇṭāṇ; Īṇṭai(k)koṇṭāṇ, yāṇṭai(k)koṇṭāṇ; Avvalikoṇṭāṇ, avvali(k)koṇṭāṇ; evvali koṇṭāṇ, evvali(k)koṇṭāṇ.

161. *Neṭiyatan munṇa rorṛumey keṭutaluṇ*
Kuṛiyatan munṇart taṇṇuru viratṭalu
Maṛiyat tōṇṛiya neṛiyiya leṇṇa.

It is said that, in usage, the consonant that stands as the final member of the standing word or base of a word is dropped or doubled according as it respectively follows a long or short vowel. Ex. tāṇ + nallaṇ = tāṇallaṇ; poṇ + akal = poṇṇakal.

162. *Āra nuruṇinu nāṇka nuruṇinuṇ*
Kūṛiya kurror riratṭa lillai
Yīṛāku pulli yakaramoṭu nilaiyu
Neṭumutal kuruku moḷimun nāṇa.

If the base of words which shorten their long vowel in oblique cases are followed by the fourth, or sixth, case-suffix, their final consonants are not doubled, but 'a' is inserted after them. Ex. tam + ku = tam(a)kku; tam + atu = tam(a)atu = tamatu. (The a of atu is dropped by sūtra 116).

Note.—The words which shorten their long vowel in oblique cases are tāṇ, yāṇ, tām, nām, yām and nī; nī becomes niṇ.

163. *Numme niṛutiya manṇilai tiriyātu.*

The same is the case with num. Ex. numakku, numatu.

164. *Ukaramoṭu puṇarum pulli yīṛti*
Yakaramu muiyirum varuvali yiyarṇkai.

The words which are capable of having 'u' inserted after their final consonant and the succeeding word, do not have it if the succeeding word begins with a vowel or y. Ex. Uriṇ yāṇā, uriṇātā.

Note.—For the words which are capable of taking u after their final consonant, refer to sūtras 297, 299 etc.

165. *Uyirum pulliyu miṛuti yāki*
Yalavu nīṛaiyu meṇṇuṇ cuṭṭi
Yulavenaṇ paṭṭa vellāc collun
Tattāṇ kilavi tammakaṇ paṭṭa
Muttai rārūṇ kālān tōṇṛi
Notta tenṇa vēyeṇ cāriyai.

It is said that ē is the proper *cāriyai* or flexional increment after the words that denote measure, weight or number if they are followed by a similar word denoting lesser measure, weight or number. Ex. *uḷakku + āḷakku = uḷakkēyālākku*; *toṭi + kaḥcu = toṭiyēkaḥcu*; *kāṇi + muntiri = kāṇiyēmuntiri*.

166. *Araiyeṇa varūum pālvarai kīlavikkup*
Puraiva taṇṇār cāriyai yiyarkai.

The above ē is not inserted if the succeeding word is *arai*.
Ex. *Uḷakkarai, toṭiyarai and oṇṇarai*.

167. *Kuraiyeṇ kīlavi muṇṇvaru kālai*
Niraiyat tōṇṇum vēṇṇumai yiyarkai.

If the word *kuṛai* follows a word denoting measure, weight or number, the sandhi that takes place there, is the same as that when the two words stand in case relation to each other. Ex. *urikkurāi, kalakkurāi* etc.

168. *Kurriya lukarak kiṇṇē cāriyai.*

If *kuṛai* follows a word denoting measure, weight or number whose final letter is *kurriyalukaram*, the flexional increment *iṇ* is inserted between them. Ex. *Uḷakkiṇkurāi, kaḥcīṇkurāi, oṇṇiṇkurāi*.

169. *Attitai varūuṇ kalame ṇaḷavē.*

Attu is inserted if *kuṛai* follows *kalam*. Ex. *kalattukkurāi*.

170. *Paṇaiye ṇaḷavūṇ kāve nīraiye*
Nīnaiyūṇ kālai yiṇṇoṭu civaṇum.

On careful consideration it is seen that the *cāriyai iṇ* is inserted if *kuṛai* follows the word '*paṇai*' denoting measure and *kā* denoting weight. Ex. *paṇaiyiṇ kurāi, kāviṇ kurāi*; sometimes *paṇaikkurāi* and *kākkurāi*.

171. *Aḷavirku nīraiyrku molimuta lāki*
Yūḷaveṇaṇ paṭṭa voṇṇpatir reḷuttē
Yavaitāṇ
Kacatapa veṇṇā namava veṇṇā
Vakara vukaramō ṭavaiyeṇa molīpa.

There are only nine letters that stand at the beginning of words denoting measure and weight and they are, *k, c, t, p, n, m, v, a* and *u*. Ex. *kalam, cāṭi, tūtai, pāṇai, nāli, maṇṭai, vaṭṭil, akal, uḷakku; kaḷaṇcu, cīrakam, toṭi, palam, nīrai, mā, varai, antai*.

Note.—The word beginning with u and denoting weight was not extant even at the time of Iḷampūraṇar. In his time there were words like immi, ōrātai denoting measurement, and not beginning with the above-mentioned letters.

172. *Īriyaṇ maruṇki nivaivivar riyaḷpenak*
Kūriya kiḷaviṇ pallā rellā
Meyttalaiṇ paṭṭa valakkoṭu civaṇi
Yottavai yuriya puṇarmoli nilaiyē.

All those changes in sandhi other than those that have been mentioned here must be determined from usage.

173. *Palarari conmuṇ yāva reṇṇum*
Peyariṭai vakaraṇ keṭutalu mēṇai
Yonrari conmuṇ yāteṇ viṇāviṭai
Yonriya vakaram varutalu miranṭu
Maruvin pāttiṭiṇ ririyumaṇ payiṇṇē.

In usage the 'va' of yāvar when it follows a plural noun is dropped and 'va' is inserted between yā and tu of the interrogative pronoun yātu when it follows neuter singular. Ex. Avar + yāvar = Avar yār; Atu + yātu = Atu yāvatu.

(Tokaimarapu ends.)

6. Urupiyal.

(Chapter on the sandhi between the base and the case-suffixes.)

174. *Aā uū ēau veṇṇu*
Mappā lāra nilaimoli munṇar
Vēṇṇumai yurupir kiṇṇē cāriyai.

The inflexional increment 'in' is inserted between the noun base ending in a, ā, u, ū, ē and au and the case-suffixes. Ex. viḷa + ai = viḷa(v)inaṇi, viḷaviṇoṭu, viḷaviṇku, viḷaviṇatu, viḷaviṇkaṇ; palā + ai = palā(v)inaṇi, palāviṇoṭu etc.; kaṭu + ai = kaṭu(v)inaṇi, kaṭuviṇoṭu etc.; kaḷū + ai = kaḷū(v)inaṇi, kaḷū(v)inoṭu etc.; cē + ai = cē(v)inaṇi, cē(v)inoṭu etc.; vau + ai = vau(v)inaṇi, vauviṇoṭu etc.

175. *Pallavai nutaliya vakara viṇuṇpeyar*
Varroṭu civaṇa lecca miṇṇē.

The words which denote many and which end in 'a' may also take the cāriyai varṇu. Ex. palla + ai = pallavarrai, palla-varroṭu; cila + ai = cilavarrai, cilavarroṭu etc.

176. *Yāven viṇāvu māyia ririyātu.*

Yā also is of the same nature (*i. e.*) it takes *varru* after it before the case-suffix. Ex. *yāvarrai*.

177. *Cuttumuta lukara mannoṭu civaṇi*
Yoṭṭiya meyyolil tukaraṇ keṭumē.

The words which begin with a demonstrative root and end in *u* take 'an' before the case-suffix and drop their final *u*. Ex. *atu + ai = at + an + ai = atanaṇi, atanoṭu etc.; itanaṇi itanoṭu etc.; utanaṇi, utanoṭu etc.*

178. *Cuttumuta lākiya vaiye nirutti*
Varroṭu civaṇi nirralu murittē.

The words which begin with a demonstrative root and end in 'ai' may also take *varru* before the case-suffix. Ex. *Avai + ai = avai + varru + ai = avaiyarrai, avaiyarroṭu etc.; ivaiyarrai, ivaiyarroṭu etc.; uvaiyarrai, uvaiyarroṭu etc.*

Note.—*v* of *varru* is dropped by sūtra 123.

179. *Yāven viṇāvi naiye nirutiyu*
Māyiya ririyā tenmanār ṣulava
Rāvayin vakara maiyoṭuṇ keṭumē.

Learned men say that the interrogative *yāvai* is of the same nature (*i. e.*) it takes *varru* after it before case-suffix. Then 'vai' of *yāvai* is dropped.

180. *Niye noruṣeyar neṭumutal kuṟuku*
Māvayi ṇakara moṟṟā kummē.

Ī of *nī* is shortened before case-suffix, when *ṇ* is inserted between them. Ex. *niṇṇai, niṇṇoṭu, niṇakku etc.*

181. *Ōkāra virutik konṟē cāriyai.*

Oṇ is the *cāriyai* that is inserted between the base ending in *ō* and the case-suffix. Ex. *kō oṇai.*

182. *Aā venṇu maraṣṣeyark kiḷavik*
Kattoṭuṇ civaṇu mēla nuruṣē.

Attu also is inserted between the base of words ending in *a* or *ā* and denoting trees and the seventh case-suffix. Ex. *viḷa + kaṇ = viḷavattukkaṇ.*

183. *Ṇanaven pulḷik kinṇē cāriyai.*

In is the *cāriyai* that is inserted after the base ending in *ñ* and *n*. Ex. *Uriñṇai, Uriñṇoṭu; poruñṇai, poruñṇoṭu.*

184. *Cuttumutal vakara maiyu meyyuṇ*
Keṭṭa viruti yiyarriri pinṟē.

There is no difference in nature between the words beginning with the demonstrative roots and ending in *v* (*i.e.*) *av*, *iv* and *uv* and the word (*yāvai*) which drops its *vai* (when it takes the *cāriyai varru*). (*i.e.*) *Av*, *iv* and *uv* take the *cāriyai varru* when their final *v* is dropped. Ex. *av + ai = av + varru + ai = avarrai, avarroṭu etc.; ivarrai, ivarroṭu etc.; uvarrai, uvarroṭu etc.*

185. *Ēnai vakara minnoṭu civaṇum.*

Word that ends in *v* other than those mentioned in the previous sūtra takes the *cāriyai in*. Ex. *Tev + ai = tev + in + ai = tevinai.*

186. *Maṣkāṇ pullimu nattē cāriyai.*

The base that ends in *m* takes *attu* before case-suffix. Ex. *maram + ai = maram + attu + ai = maratattai.*

187. *Inniṭai varūu moliyumā ruḷavē.*

Some bases ending in *m* take *in* instead of *attu* before case-suffixes. Ex. *Urum + ai = uruminai, uruminnoṭu etc.; tiruminai, tiruminnoṭu etc.*

188. *Numme nirutti yiyarkai yākum.*

Num takes the case-suffix directly without the insertion of any flexional increment. Ex. *Nummai, nummoṭu etc.*

189. *Tānā meṇṇu makara vīrutiyum*

Yāme niruttiyu matanō ranna

Ā ey yākum yāme nirutti

Yāvayin yakaramēy keṭutal vēṇṭu

Mēnai yiraṇṭu neṭumutal kurukum.

Of the bases ending in *m*, *tām* and *nām* have their vowels shortened before case-suffix and *yām* is changed to *em* before the same. Ex. *tān + ai = taṇṇai, taṇṇoṭu etc.; nammai, nammoṭu etc.; yām + ai = emmai, emmoṭu etc.*

190. *Ellā meṇṇu mīruti munṇar*

Varreṇ cāriyai murrat tōṇru

Mummai nilaiyu mīruti yāṇa.

The base *ellām* takes *varru* before case-suffix and *um* is added after the case-suffix. Ex. *ellām + ai = ellām + varru + ai + um = ellāvarraiyeum, ellāvarroṭum, ellāvarrinum etc.*

191. *Uyartiṇai yāyi nammiṭai varumē.*

Nam is inserted instead of *varru* in the previous case if *ellām* refers to *uyartiṇai*. Ex. *Ellānammaiyeum, ellānamminum etc.*

192. *Ellāru mennum paṭarkkai yirutiṃ*
Mellīru mennu munnilai yirutiṃ
Morru mukaramuṇ keṭumēna molīpa
Nirral vēṇṭum rakaraṭ puḷḷi
Yummai nilaiṃ miruti yāṇa
Tammiṭai varūum paṭarkkai mēna
Nummiṭai varūum munnilai molikkē.

'Ellārum' which denotes the third person and 'ellirum' which denotes the second person have tam (followed by the case-suffix) and num (followed by the case-suffix) inserted between ellār and um, and ellīr and um respectively. Ex. ellār-tammai-y-um, ellīrnummai-y-um.

193. *Tānyā neṇṇu māyī rirutiṃ*
Mēnmup peyaroṭum vērupā ṭilavē.

Tāṇ and yāṇ undergo the same change as the above three words tām, nām and yām (before case-suffixes). (i.e.) tāṇ is changed to taṇ in oblique cases and yāṇ to eṇ. Ex. tannai etc.; ennai etc.

194. *Alanē puḷanē yāyiru molikku*
Mattu minnu muraḷat tōṇṇa
Lotta teṇṇa vuṇaru mōrē.

Learned men say that the cāriyai attu and in are optionally added after the words alaṇ and puḷaṇ in oblique cases. Ex. alaṭtai, alaṇinaṇi; puḷattai, puḷaṇinaṇi etc.

195. *Annen cāriyai yēla niriṭi*
Munṇart tōṇṇu miyarkait teṇṇa.

The cāriyai aṇ is added after the number ēḷ. Ex. ēḷanaṇi, ēḷanoṭu etc.

196. *Kurriya lukarat tiruti munṇar*
Murrat tōṇṇu minnen cāriyai.

The flexional increment 'in' is inserted after the base ending in ū.

197. *Netṭelut timpa rorrumikat tōṇṇu*
Mappāṇ molika lalvali yāṇa.

If the consonant that precedes ū is preceded by a long vowel, it is doubled wherever possible (only ṭ and ṛ are doubled).

198. *Avaitām*
Iyarkaiya vākuṇ ceyarkaiya veṇṇa.

It is said that the flexional increment 'in' is not added in the above case. Ex. yāṭu + ai = yāṭṭai.

In the Press.

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A CRITICAL EDITION
OF
THE DHVANYĀLOKA
OF
ĀNANDAVARDHANA
WITH
THE LOCANA OF ABHINAVAGUPTA
AND
THE KAUMUDĪ OF UTTUNGODAYA

EDITED BY

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THE LAST DURBAR AT DELHI

far half-circle, that living mound of men, a murmur, steady, unswerving, unchanging, articulate of excitement and expectation.

Here and there, from within the semi-circle it enfolded, densely packed with troops in orderly and radiating wedges, there was the glint of a scabbard or lance-head in the sun. Here and there within the inner arena there was a tiny scurry of dust six inches high, wheeling across a red path and losing itself on the grass beyond. The idle halliards of the great flagstaff hung motionless with their little, many-coloured bundle at its peak. Overhead the clear blue vault swept clear from horizon to horizon, except towards the south-west, where the dust of Delhi and the encampment still hung, a curtain of purple gauze, in the air.

There was a wheeling speck or two high up in the heavens, where a few sentinel kites watched with keen eyes what, if the traditions of Delhi kites were to be respected, they must have thought likely to become a scene of blood-shed before long.

MAGNETISM OF THE EVENT

The huge orchestra played from time to time, but the space was so large that the best efforts of more than a thousand men seemed almost faint. Perhaps in an unconscious way we all realised that the issues of the morning were playing upon us with too insistent a call for our chords to respond to lesser things. For indeed—it is a difficult thing to write of, and I do so only in an allusive way—the chords that lie deepest in human nature were struck to-day by the Durbar in a manner that I have known only once before, and it was in the same place. Perhaps the memory of the wave of emotion that swept the whole assembly in 1903 at the entrance of the scanty and at enfeebled company of Mutiny veterans will convey to some the depth and quality of the sensation. It was a feeling not unmingled with a touch of awe; excitement and sympathy no doubt intensified it; but the commanding, imperative character of the emotion was beyond question the unity of the mental attitude of a huge crowd. There must have been over ninety thousand present, and the subconscious force of the concentration of ninety thousand minds upon a single thought whirled the individual along into a common vortex, as a spar is sucked down into the maelstrom. To continue the parallel a step further, this preliminary magnetism was as the first circular sweep of the whirlpool after an ebb. It was growing in strength from minute to minute, and it reached its maximum at the supreme moment when their Majesties showed themselves beneath the central pavilion. But it was present in

greater or less degree throughout the Durbar, and any attempt to describe the occasion without making reference to it would leave out the strangest and the deepest feature of the occasion.

INCARNATE INDIA

But beyond this compelling magnetism there was another force at work of a simpler and more easily understood nature, a realisation, common to all there, that India was represented within the smaller ring of the amphitheatre as India has never been represented before, except so far as completeness is concerned, in 1903, and with a new sense of corporate unity that has never fully characterised the title before. Within the circuit of the Princes' seats the tradition of India was incarnate. No name of importance was missing, excepting two; almost to a man the ruling Princess of India had obeyed the summons of their Chief, and now sat in readiness to offer to the Emperor their allegiance and their swords, and to vow once more the faith and loyalty that have always marked the chivalry of Hindustan. The connection of their houses with Delhi's Emperors linked the present with the past. Among them one caught sight of many to whom Delhi had long been the greatest glory or the greatest curse of their chronicle.

First in order came, of course, the new Nizam of Hyderabad, whom the Governor-General had led to his throne only in October last, the last survivor of the great Viceroys of the later Mogul Emperors, who won their independence as the descendants of Babar dwindled and decayed. Then Baroda—the Gaekwar so well known in London—leader of the descendants of Marathas, who themselves once captured Delhi, and held her under a remorseless bondage, and afterwards so nearly succeeded in wresting entirely from the effete Moguls the diadem of India. Then Mysore, himself the visible proof of the good faith of England in her stewardship of India, for have we not voluntarily restored autonomy to a native State and its justly forfeited possession to an Indian house? Mysore, too, has a curious connection with Delhi, for is there not in the Palace of the Maharaja of Mysore the actual throne of figwood and ivory of the Pandu brothers, the semi-mythical heroes who founded the first Delhi of which any record exists?

Of all the greater chiefs present, Kashmir was perhaps, the least associated with the Imperial City. Then came the Maratha and Rajput Princes, the hereditary enemies of their Mohammedan masters.

Not far away are sitting the Sikh chieftains, whose association

THE LAST DURBAR AT DELHI

with the Mogul dynasty was grim indeed. For Tegh Bahadur, their ninth leader, was put to death by Aurangzeb ; and Banda, the last of their "Gurus," was carried about in a cage, tortured in body and soul, blinded, and finally killed in cold blood by Bahadur Shah. Representing their different branches are Patiala—whose visit to England last year will be fresh in the memory—and Bahawalpur, a mere child of eight or ten. But more conspicuous than any chief there present was the memory of the white-bearded Nabha lying ill in his palace a hundred miles away to the north, the loyalist of the loyal. Nor were the lesser-known strains of Indian chivalry absent, while the increased numbers of grim and picturesque frontier chiefs was one of the most noticeable features of the gathering. Indeed, to use Lord Curzon's own words, India was there from the Arab sheikhs of Aden to the banks of the Salwin and the Mekong.

THE COLOUR OF THE DURBAR

And now to attempt something without which it is impossible to form even a vague idea of what that great gathering to-day was like. I mean the colour, light, and shade of it all. Under the Indian sun, the distinction between sunshine and shadow is naturally more marked than it is at home, and in ceremonial it has its influence. One strives here to gain a general effect of balance of light and shade out of doors, leaving the certain vigilance of the sky to justify broad effects ; but once in shade there is a standard of detailed richness in Asia that it would be impossible, and even useless, to carry out within European walls except by artificial light. It was nothing less than a living palace, within the walls of which the King was declared by his own voice to-day Emperor of India. Thus, the broad curve of the Durbar amphitheatre was strongly designed so as to carry on and out the central cynosures, the shamiana—in which the Emperor received the homage of his chief lieutenants and Princes in India ; and the pavilion whence he showed himself to his gathered subjects in their tens of thousands. Of the outer circle thronged by the latter it is impossible to suggest more than has already been suggested, a great outside sense of scores of thousands of human beings actuated and inspired by a single common intention to honour their Emperor, and confess themselves his liege and true men. At that distance it was impossible to distinguish any marked or definite characteristics, though the central part on either side of the opening was gay as beds of hyacinth with the luminous streaks and patches of the

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coloured pagris of the children who had been collected there, to the number of some six thousand. In general the effect was that of a huge length of some costly Kashmir or Rampur shawl, woven on a giant's loom—not brilliant in design so much as rich and mellow, and diapered with an elusive pattern in ivory white, which was here and there massed into pools of cream, wherever the Mohammedans gathered in greater proportion. It was a living tapestry flung upon the sloping wall that encircled the greater arena.

THE IMPERIAL RING

But within the inner circle, beneath the curve of the roof, one was near enough to note the individual splendour, and still to see it only as a part of a gorgeous whole. It was amazing. The beauty and costliness of earth's fabrics was here shown as they have never been shown before. Europe and Asia here entered the lists of personal display one against the other, and it must be confessed that Asia was easily the victor. Such golden and silvern cloths have never before issued from the looms of Benares or of Ahmedabad. Such colours even Arjumand's ladies never wore. Such jewels would have made even Nadir's mouth water. The plain truth is that, to do honour to the new Emperor, the looms and needles of India's most famous craftsmen have been plied incessantly for many months; the silk-weavers of Dacca and Amritsar have set their cards to a finer measure than they have known for years; the last resources of this rich land have been ransacked for jewels, and the dustiest corners of the treasure-houses of chiefs—corners that even 1903 did not wholly reach—have been turned out and their contents reset. After all, what wonder? There were assembled here almost the last of the greater aristocracies in all earth's history, to whom the wearing of beautiful clothes has always been a delight in itself; and to spur them on to splendour in apparel they had both the long-expected presence of their Emperor in their midst, and moreover, that jealous rivalry in loyal display which has almost been a lost incentive in Europe since the days of the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold'.

JEWELS AND DRESSES

In all the sea of colour which glowed and glittered round one to-day, it is possible only to select a few dresses that happened almost by accident to catch the eye, and by another chance to be remembered as one writes. Most of the princes wore an outer khilat, achkar, or robe of honour, made of pure cloth of gold, or of cloth of gold, shot with silver. Beneath this pliant metal was often

a sheen of rose or green or orange which was scarcely visible in the full sunlight, but lent an exquisite richness to the owner's lightest movement beneath the shade of the roof. Above or beneath this outer robe were the jewels of the princely house—generally ropes of filbert-shaped pearls in festoons of ten, twelve, or fifteen at a time. Besides these, necklets of diamonds, emeralds, and rubies sparkled upon headdress and sword-hilt, upon brooch and button and shoulder knot. Some wore gemmed necklaces—and among them Darbhanga stood out with the grim naulakha that had once belonged to the worst enemy we have ever known in India, a man whose name is but whispered amongst us to this day. Patiala, whose diamonds are world-famous, wore to-day a nine-roped breast-plate of pearls. Travancore, for whose family the collection of these sea-treasures from the neighbouring fisheries in Cingalese waters has been an easy and lucrative occupation for centuries, and in whose case the descent of the dignity by the distaff may well have added to the jewel-chests that each Maharaja has inherited, was no less gorgeous. Gwalior, indistinctly seen, beneath the shamiana, Travancore's only rival in these beautiful objects was wearing the famous pearl sash that has become almost a symbol in itself of the riches of India. But the hill-princes of Burma easily eclipsed their neighbours for sheer golden glory, as their ceremonial dresses stood out stiffly from their figures, laced, and barred, and epauletted, and vambraced with gold—not mere gold cloth or lace, but solid gold plates—and they looked as if rubies were little accounted of in the Shan states, too. Kashmir, with jewelled poshteen of gold brocade, lined with sable. Bundi, with his traditional family attire, with an almost Albanian fulness of skirts, and pearl epaulettes.

A BRILLIANT MOSAIC

But gems and gold and silver did but lend the final note of richness to the scene. Every-where in this mosaic of colour upon the seats occupied by the great nobles of India was a new tint, yet in some mysterious way each harmonised with the rest. Few women in England would dare to set amethyst beside emerald, or crimson beside orange. Yet here the contrasts, like discords in music, did but bring out the harmony of the whole, and the result was sheer beauty. There was one old and wizened chief who sat motionless throughout the Durbar, wrapped in a voluminous garment of pearl cream, brokenly edged and centred with what, I believe, is called iron-blue; lightly and beautifully diapered with the

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deepest burnt carmine and myrtle green. There was another, whose laurel green khilat had not a touch of gold upon it, but a silver-grey and sapphire edging a foot deep thrust out excrescences and medallioned tendrils twice as wide as itself.

On the whole, cardinal and other modified crimsons, topaz, aquamarine blue predominated. As is well known, the deeper blues are unpopular with Hindus, though, of course, the Moham-medans of the coast prefer this hue to any other. But there were to be found in the kaleidoscope of the Durbar almost every colour that the gardener and the jeweller and the enameller knows, and the stiff and unwieldy civilian uniforms of the English—and even the daintiest creations worn by our ladies—seemed swallowed up beside this softly-moving radiance of silken and golden magnificence. A trifle humbled, we waited for the coming of the Emperor and Empress in their robes, and with their suite, to redress the balance!

And at last the first signal of their Majesties' coming appeared. The Governor-General and Lady Hardinge swept into the arena from the eastern entrance, skirted the outer ring, and moved rapidly along the route soon to be traversed by the Emperor and Empress themselves to their places under the great crimson-hung shamiana, beside the centre of the smaller ring. They were enthusiastically received, the whole audience rising to greet them as they passed. Again there was a lull, and then the first of a salute of a hundred and one guns announced the coming of the Emperor.

ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR

Steadily, at intervals of fifteen seconds, the thud of the guns dominated the Durbar gathering. At last the sound of horse-hoofs and the rumble of cannon was distinguished in the intervals of the steady cannonade, and the whole gathering turned as one man towards the entrance through which the Governor-General had come. At last the head of N. Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, appeared, sweeping round the inner northern half of the greater ring, every scrap of steel glittering like mirrors in the sun. At once shrill orders were heard among the masses of troops, and the long ripples of glittering steel flickered like summer lightning over the ranks as the men presented arms. After the battery rode the 10th Hussars, and after them the Governor-General's scarlet-clad body-guard of gigantic Sikh Lancers. Behind them came the three troopers of the Household Cavalry with blinding cuirasses and

nodding plumes and then the great central figures of this illustrious pageantry.

Slowly, and acknowledging the roar of welcome that spread before them all the way, the Emperor and Empress passed into the arena with the crimson and golden umbrellas held over them by scarlet and gold clad veterans, who had earned this post of almost sacred honour on many a desperate battlefield along the marches of India.

After the Imperial carriage and Standard Bearer rode the Imperial Cadet Corps, all snow and black and aquamarine and leopard skin and gold, and then the 18th Lancers. The 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade and the 1st Gurkha Rifles formed part of the escort, and were drawn up to receive the Imperial procession along the centre of the arena. The glittering line passed slowly inwards among the serried masses of troops.

HIS MAJESTY'S ROBES

Turning to the right upon entering the amphitheatre, their Majesties proceeded round the outer semi-circle until the centre was reached. Then they could turn inwards, and between an avenue formed by the Rifles and the Gurkhas approached the central pavilion. Before, however, this was reached, the procession turned to its left, and circled round the inner ring, passing under the eastern half of the inner stand, where a splendid reception greeted them. From end to end of their progress all men, without reserve, European and native alike, raised a roar of welcome, to which their Imperial Majesties responded graciously, bowing repeatedly in answer to the excited cheering of the great audience, which continued for some five minutes.

A minute later, just at noon, the Imperial carriages reined in at the Shamiana, the Royal Standard floated out into a shimmering cascade of silk from the flagstaff, and the first grand chord of the National Anthem broke out from the massed bands. The Governor-General, with Lady Hardinge and their staff and suite, received the Emperor and Empress as they alighted at the foot of the crimson-carpeted steps, on either side of which gorgeously-dressed pages added to the beauty of the scene. Then, for the first time, it was possible to see the splendour of the robes which his Imperial Majesty was wearing. So far as one could observe details, they were exactly similar to those in which he had entered Westminster Abbey on the day of Coronation, and their appearance under an Eastern sun caused a positive sensation. The Emperor wore

a long purple cloak of gold-braided ermine, edged over a purple surcoat, the collars of the Garter and the Star of India, the Star of the latter Order, and on his head a light diamond crown, with the four Imperial half-hoops, instead of the two which are the symbol of Royalty. The Empress wore a white satin dress, similar to her Coronation dress, but with a border of lotus flowers. What had been merely rich in the vaulted shadow of the Confessor's great building now showed as a fabric worthy of the scene in which the new-consecrated King was about to play so illustrious a part. There was a moment's pause, and then their Imperial Majesties took their places upon the thrones of silver-gilt which had been set facing the inner amphitheatre. As soon as Sir Henry McMahon, Master of the Ceremonies and Foreign Secretary, had received permission, the great Durbar was begun, heralded by a fanfare of trumpets and a roll of drums.

Slowly the Emperor rose. Quietly, yet with a voice that carried well to all those whom he was addressing, he delivered a speech in which he expressed his feelings of thankfulness, satisfaction at the happy culmination of his desire to make India share in the Coronation, and at being able to receive in person the homage of the great officers of State and the Princes. His Majesty ended by renewing the promises and assurances of the British Crown, which India regards as her Magna Charta. Almost incidentally his Majesty referred to the great message of the day which the Governor-General was to announce, a few minutes later, with such overwhelming effect.

THE HOMAGE

As his Imperial Majesty's last words died away, the offering of allegiance was begun. The Governor-General—who alone of all present was privileged actually to kiss the Emperor's hand—advanced and solemnly did homage to his Sovereign. He was followed by the seven members of his Council, led by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir O' Moore Creagh. The sight of these six civilians into whose hands the destinies of the huge sub-continent are entrusted, clad in plain black and gold, without the ribbon of any Order between them, was strangely significant of our civil administration, and the contrast and all that the East knows of Government elsewhere.

Then came the Ruling Chiefs. There was, of course, no question as to the order of the few senior princes. As has been suggested, Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, and Kashmir led the splendid procession.

THE LAST DURBAR AT DELHI

Jaipur then came, and behind him a line of Rajput Princes every man of them looking like the children of the sun and moon that they claim to be—Jaipur, the most steadfast of them, as true to the old regime as he is to his allegiance ; little Jodhpur in dazzling cloth of gold, with a jewelled miniature of his grandfather over his right eye, slipping from his place as page beside the throne. Tiny Bahawalpur was in deep crimson, heavily embroidered with gold, with gorgeous aigrettes of diamonds. Jaipur bore one of the treasures of his house, the most costly necklace in India. Bikaner, from his rich city in the wilderness, remembering, perhaps, how once the vaulted roof of Calcutta Railway Station rang with the cry, "Hail ! King of the Desert," his rightful title by solemn treaty, as he came to our help in China in 1900 ; Alwar, even more gorgeously dressed than his fellows, though his interests are rather in his Imperial Service troops than in his pearls and brocades ; and Tonk, the one Moslem Rajput among them all, but as stout and proudly descended a Knight of India as any—excepting always Udaipur, their chief and overlord, whose men have own his rights on many a blood-soaked field, and whose women on many a burning pyre and disdainful suicide. Never did Mogul Emperor win a living bride from Udaipur.

After the Rajputs came the Maratha chiefs of Central India—Gwalior, of course, leading them, his well-known features less recognisable than three days ago, when dressed in English clothes, he spoke to me of his work in Gwalior as a keen, practical man, with large views and abundant capacity and will carry them out. Holkar of Indore came next, clad in shimmering cloth of gold, and wearing some of the jewels for which his House is almost as famous as Sindhia's. Of the others, the most interesting figure was that of the Begum of Bhopal, so well known to Londoners for her presence at the Coronation last June. She passed by, completely enveloped in a good lacework rubandar or yashmak and a rich crown of gold filagree, and her Imperial Majesty leaned forward slightly to greet her as she did so.

SOME NOTABLE FIGURES

The order observed on this occasion caused the appearance next of the Baluchistan chiefs, the Lord of LassBela, and the Khan of Kalat, who attended in characteristic robes, and this first procession of Prince closed with two chiefs of exceptional interest—the Maharaja of Sikkim and the Maharaja of Bhutan. The former is of Tibetan blood, and helped

us mightily eight years ago when Younghusband led his mission to Lhasa ; the latter, also of much service on that occasion, has only within the last eighteen months been formally included among the ruling chiefs of India.

Immediately behind this splendid procession, which left the eye dazzled with its richness, the best efforts of the Chief Justice of Bengal and his colleagues of the High Court, upon whom attention has of late been so much fixed, seemed colourless and dull ; even dimmer were the Legislative Members of Council. His Excellency the Governor of Madras, in his robes, did something to add colour to the group, but it was reserved for the magnificence of Travancore to cause a real thrill. He was wearing many hundreds of his famous pearls.

After Madras came Bombay, for though personally senior to Sir Thomas Carmichael by date of appointment, Sir George Clarke's presidency yields precedence on days of high ceremony—"Clive's Province" is the senior province of British India. Conspicuous among its chiefs were Kolhapur, the lineal descendant of Shivaji, of the Tiger's Claw, and Ranjitsinghi, the beloved of cricket fields at home, now disguised as the Jam of Nawanagar. Then followed the representatives of Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, Eastern Bengal, Assam, two Commissioner-ships of the Centre and the North-West—the latter being, perhaps, the most picturesque of all, for the Pathan keeps to the ways and the robes of his forefathers, the wide trousers, huge sword-belts, and kaftans ; and their jewelled weapons were conspicuously easy to get at.

THE SHOWING OF THE EMPEROR

As soon this deeply interesting ceremony was completed, and one of the three desires of every Indian Prince accomplished after so many years by the giving of his personal vow of allegiance and loyalty to his Sovereign, the great event of the day took place.

Rising from their thrones, with umbrellas of State held over their heads, the golden symbols of Imperial rule behind them—the white flowing chauries ; the clublike morchals which conventionalise the peacock-feather fans which have played so large a part in Oriental pageantry from the earliest times ; the long maces of the chobdars ; and, above all, the golden symbols, the Surajmukh itself—their trains by pages, and with a splendid attendance, headed by the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge, the Emperor and the Empress, hand in hand, moved out from the Shamiana

in which the homage had been paid and received and passed across to the great central pavilion where raised on a fourfold dais, twin thrones awaited them. It was a splendid and a stately progress, and the central figures of it were the central figures indeed. A man beside me muttered, "Incessu patuit Imperator," and it was as good a summing-up of the impression left by the pageant as could be given.

Slowly the steps of the platforms were ascended. On the lowest were the guards of honour, facing inwards, the native on the left, the Black Watch on the right. Below them guarding the three approaches to the pavilion, were the three huge Life Guardsmen, the Blues being represented to the north, the First to the east, and the Second to the west.

On the second platform the suites of the Emperor and Empress were left behind. On the third, the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge and the Marquis of Crewe and the Duchess of Devonshire and Earl of Durham, respectively right and left of the fourth and final dais, to which their Imperial Majesties ascended alone.

A WONDERFUL CLIMAX

It was the climax of the day, the crowning monument of all the pomp and circumstance of the great ceremony. Alone, in most gorgeous robes, crowned with light, surrounded by a chosen and splendid retinue, their Majesties stood out, the centre of a sea of faces, the focus of the blessings and devotion of 90,000 human beings, all swayed and bent by one common impulse, as the wind stirs the corn. Overhead, the rich crimson and gold of the spreading canopy fitly framed the scene within the pavilion and a special richly-embroidered shamiana was suspended above their Imperial Majesties' heads. The phrase of a very, very ancient Indian writer came into the mind as one watched. One could understand his quaint words that the glory of the Emperor spread round about like the sound of a great gong rung in the canopy of the skies.

The bands sent out a shrill challenge to the waiting heralds without the arena. There was an answering fanfare, and the herald, with his assistant-herald and his four-and-twenty trumpeters, rode into view at the central opening of the great ring. Quickly riding up through the parterre of troops, they approached the centre road, and there sounded another flourish. They followed the route taken by his Imperial Majesty, and swept round the inner ring and out again until they reined in front of their Imperial Majesties, who were now looking out over the wide panorama of loyalty before

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them. A third fanfare brought to an end the obeisance of the herald and his men. He received an order from Sir Henry Macmahon, and, turning outwards, he read the announcement of the due and rightful crowning of King George at Westminster, on June 22. A translation of the announcement into Urdu was then read by the second herald, and a flourish of trumpets told of the completion of the ceremony. At once the troops in the arena presented arms, and the massed bands played the National Anthem. As the last chord died away the first of the thundering salute of the guns was heard, each gun, as on the occasion of the entrance, being represented by an entire battery of six pieces. The effect was tremendous, and thrice during its progress the ripple of a *feu de joie* crackled up and down the line of unseen troops outside the arena, from the amphitheatre to the Emperor's camp and back again. Thus the avenue of fire from Selimgarh to the Durbar was completed.

At length the thunder of the guns died away along the Delhi plains, and there was silence again. The Governor-General, with a deep bow, approached his Imperial Majesty, and received his commands. Stepping forward upon the second tier of the pavilion, Lord Hardinge announced the will and pleasure of the Emperor. The Governor-General's voice is singularly well pitched, and, though his back was to the inner circle, much could be heard of his words. But the great announcement of the transference of the capital to Delhi and the cancellation of the partition of Bengal was practically inaudible; and only when the Emperor was leaving the arena were printed slips circulated among the audience, spreading the momentous news, which, however, is clearly understood by many in the vicinity of the Shamiana when, on his return from the pavilion, the Emperor repeated in his own voice the Proclamation he had commissioned his first lieutenant in India to pronounce. Until this second publication was made it is probably safe to say that no twelve persons in the presence had any idea of what the announcement was likely to be, so carefully had the secret been kept.

CLOSE OF THE DURBAR

Yet another shrill summons was sounded on the silver trumpets, and the herald, waving his hat, called for three cheers for the Emperor, a salute which was taken up enthusiastically by every one in all the great assembly. This was followed by three cheers for her Imperial Majesty, which were given with equal fervour. As soon as the sound had died away within the circle of the mound

the cheering was taken up outside, the roar of the acclamation of the main body of the troops flooding over the human barrier which separated us from them.

Then, with due solemnity, their Imperial Majesties descended the steps of the pavilion, and returned to the Shamiana, escorted as before. It was the last act of the Durbar, and one watched it with tense interest, trying to fix in the mind a scene of which the mere splendid was the least attribute. The stately figure of the Empress was nearer me as the procession returned, and there was one instant, visible to all, at which she turned, not so much, it seemed, to the Emperor, as to her husband, and the touch of nature brought us all together to her feet. She had played her part nobly, what must have been a trying ceremony, of which the deep significance was, perhaps, of all men and women there, best known to herself and to the Emperor. The Emperor himself preserved throughout the calm and dignity that so tremendous a passage in his life required, and his iron resolution well suited an Oriental assembly such as this. Simply, he gave command that the Durbar be brought to an end, and soon after re-entered his carriage. He left the arena by a route inverse to that by which he had entered it. He passed round the left side of the inner ring, and then retracing his way to the opening in the outer circle, turned westwards again and gave the spectators on those slopes an opportunity of seeing and greeting with loyal enthusiasm their newly acclaimed Emperor and Empress.

At a walking pace the journey was completed, and the splendid cortege, which has now been rejoined by the escort of cavalry and guns, passed out of sight through the exit to the west.

A few moments later the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge entered their carriage and drove away, following the route taken by the Emperor, and followed themselves by a wake of cordial applause throughout their course.

FINAL SCENES

Immediately his Excellency's escort had disappeared, the carriages of the greater chiefs were permitted to enter the arena. This was the signal for a general melting away of the crowds, though thousands remained to gather round the pavilion and the shamiana and wonder at the crimson hangings, the golden thrones, and the priceless carpets that clothed the two dais and the processional route between.

But for most of us the effect of the day's business was too overwhelming to let us think of the mere externals of the ceremony,

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however imposing. As I have said, the central thought of all, the main impression left, was that now the King of England was indeed and in truth Emperor of India in a sense which the well-known phrase has never seemed to bear before. Moreover, a change had come over the meaning of the very word India. At last the golden cord that has so long tried to bind that continent of peoples into a consistent union has been knotted by the hand of the Emperor himself and it shall not be loosed again.

What was it that Delhi—Delhi, the changeless witness of all Indian history—went out for to see? A new India; a unified India; an India of peace and order: an India of which she was again to be the head and mother. It was a strange sight for her. As a capital she has been won by many Kings and dynasties, but never a peacemaker has come within her gate. There is not a stone of her that has not been washed in blood, and the mud of her streets is red through the same. But a new era has arisen, and she has once in her long life seen all India hail without jealousy and without reserve an Emperor who brings peace and justice, law, order, and well-being back into her Courts. May we not think that ancient and shattered Delhi herself, wise with the knowledge of centuries, sent forth to-day upon the heads of the Emperor and his Consort a blessing fraught with a sure and certain hope for a noble future. Nay, may we not believe and know that the God whom that great assembly to-day was wont to worship and confess under so many different names has sent down His richest benediction upon the Emperor of India and upon those steadfast and untiring white men under him, upon whose shoulders is laid the burden of another, the burden of the helpless and trusting peoples committed to our charge? The Durbar is over: but the new life and encouragement that it has brought into being will mark it in all the long story of Indian history, not only or chiefly for its splendour, but for the new and glorious era of unity which by his sympathy our new Emperor has brought into our life and work here. (Mr. Perceval Landon in the *Daily Telegraph*.)

THE IMPERIAL DURBAR

There has scarcely been a period in Indian history, from the misty days of the Mahabharata, 3,000 years ago, to this present year of grace, at which Delhi has not been the key of Hindustan. One is at first inclined to wonder why this somewhat featureless and unfertile plain beside the brown Jumna waters should have

so enthralled the people of India from all time. Of other capitals there has been the usual ebb and flow of popularity. Scores have vanished utterly. It would puzzle ninety-nine out of any hundred Indian civilians to place off hand Kanauj, Rohtas, Hampi Gaur, Ujjain, Mandu, Nadiya, Gulbarga, and Sonargaon—scanty though such a list of the abandoned capitals of India is. Why then, has Delhi remained? How has she escaped the fate of Kanauj, which once claimed suzerainty over her, or of Hastinapura, from which her founders came? The answer to this question, like most historical problems, is to be found upon the map. India has always been invaded from the north-east. Age after age the hardy mountaineers of the rugged and unfertile central plateau of Asia swarmed down, through the Khaibar, upon the rich plains of the Five Rivers, and there heard of even richer lands and cities farther away to the south-west. But to reach them there lay but one road, and across that road lay Delhi.

To the left of the oncoming hordes—hordes which, it must be remembered, were obliged to live entirely on the country—the advanced spurs of the Himalayas and deep rivers barred the way; to their right lay the waterless deserts of Sind and Rajputana. Only along the line of what is now the most famous highway in the world, the Grand Trunk Road, there opened out an easy and well-supplied avenue towards those other lands of corn and vine and wealth. Moreover, it has always been the one point along the route that could not safely be left in the enemy's possession. It could not be passed by. So it was always around Delhi that the fiercest storm of resistance and attack rose, and it was always at Delhi that the latest conqueror soon found himself obliged to re-erect the walls that he had himself so recently levelled. And as years passed the slow but tremendous force of prestige began to invest this little central riverbank with a superstitious importance. A man who aimed at the Indian purple was a mere clan chieftain, or successful buccaneer, until he had forced his way into Delhi. There was but one Imperial roll of Indian names, and a king who had not his own upon it could at the best claim but a provincial immortality. Delhi was the touchstone.

Fifty years ago Lawrence and Nicholson knew this, and this was the reason why they flung every man that could by any possibility be spared from the Punjab and the frontier against these red walls. At all cost Delhi had to be re-taken. There was no hope of making an end, or even of checking the flow

ing tide, of the great Mutiny so long as Delhi remained in the hands of the rebels ; with Delhi in our possession the heart was crushed out of the rebel's cause. That was why Nicholson took the more timid councils of Wilson by storm ; and that is why the name of the already half-defied "Nikalsain" has joined the long-closed lists of legendary Indian heroes in the mouths of the common people. For, whatever his generous nature may have said of Alexander Taylor, it was Nicholson's dead hand which gave us back Delhi, and therewith the Empire of India which is looming so largely in men's minds to-day.

DELHI'S CHRONICLES

The story of Delhi, its kings, its peoples, and its priests, has been handed down in many ways : by the droning chant of generations of illiterate poets and minstrels ; by the reed-pen in the hand of a chain of unknown scribes throughout those ages that we call Dark, only because they are dark to us ; by the chisel and hammer of the Asokan engraver in stone at Meerut, and of his brother in iron at Lalkot ; by the masons of the Slave-Emperor Kutab-ud-din ; by the walls of Tughlakabad and Firozabad, now given over to the mantle of the "bitter karela" ; by the jewelled chambers and crimson battlements set up by the most splendid of all earthly dynasties ; and, after the battles and sieges, the pillage and slaughter of two hundred years, by the shot-shattered Kashmir Gate, and—last of all—by the haze of factory and railway smoke that is the best evidence to-day of the orderliness and peace that our established rule has brought in its train.

Always has this wide, flat expanse of land beside the Jumna been the Naboth's vineyard. Men have called it by many names, Indraprastha, Lalcot, Fort Rai Pithora, Firozabad, Shahjehanabad—all have meant just Delhi, and Delhi it will remain until the human race has forgotten how to read and write. The Aryan race has had but three capitals of surpassing size, strength, and significance—Rome and London for its southern and northern branches in Europe, and one, Delhi, for those darker brethren who pushed so early and so stubbornly towards the noonday sun. Here there was a first encampment of men of pale, finely-cut faces in remote ages, and romance early wove a web round this forlorn and exposed outpost of the high-bred Aryans amidst the Indian aborigines, with their broad, clumsy black faces and squat figures. Kings from the first, among these feeble folk, the Aryan immigrants had soon leisure enough to begin that quarrelling among themselves that cannot precede complete and settled conquest. The Pandavas,

who settled here, engaged in war after war with their own nearest kin, and their eventual extinction—after a struggle that is recorded in an Indian Iliad written contemporaneously with Homer's—will always be remembered by the Aryan touch that marks the final scene. To English readers, the story of the recognition of the returned Ulysses by his dog bridges thirty centuries in a flash. In the Mahabharata the sturdy determination of Yudhishtira to go to hell with his dog rather than enter heaven without him strikes a common racial chord that an Englishman best, perhaps, of all Aryans will understand to-day.

THE DARK AGES

Thenceforward the welter and cross-currents of tribal struggle, with their alternate issue of victory and extinction, ebbed and flowed over these same riverine levels; but of the details we, as yet, know nothing; perhaps we shall never know much. One curious fact stands out. India seems always to have proved a Capua for her conquerors, and of all the recorded attempts at invasion from the north-east, there has not been one that has not ultimately succeeded. It is the old story that runs the same course all over the world. The hills always have conquered—and probably always will conquer—the plains. It is, by the the bye, to be regretted that Alexander the Great never reached Delhi. Valuable as is the work of Megasthenes—now only known to us in fragments—it would have been of especial importance if we had had even the scantiest of his notes about Delhi and its religion during the curiously little-known period that elapsed between the death of Buddha and the triumph of his teaching under Asoka about 250 B.C. Delhi certainly was then a town of importance, and certainly also was included in the possessions of Asoka's grandfather.

With the famous invasion of Mohammed of Ghor, in 1193, we are on firmer historical ground. His ambition was of a determined nature, as he had to make his position in Afghanistan secure before he ventured south; and his first attempt upon Delhi, in 1191, was an ignominious failure. Owing, however, to internecine disputes, Mohammed was able in 1193 to capture the place. But the curse that attends all merely personal achievement in war awaited his work. After his death, Kutab-ud-din, the Viceroy of his Indian provinces, proclaimed himself Sovereign and made good his pretensions. He was by birth a slave and a Turki, but he was the first to establish the Mohammedan empire of India, an empire that under different races lasted—at least in name, for the one Hindu who sat on the throne was nominally a Mohammedan—until Queen

Victoria assumed the Imperial title in 1877 at the instigation of Lord Beaconsfield. He built greatly, and part, at least, of his work remains. The famous Kutab Minar at Delhi is the most magnificent single shaft of masonry that exists in the world to this day.

It was under his son Altamsh that the first grumbings of the storm that was ultimately to sweep over India made itself felt. Chengiz Khan, the Attila of the East, swept into India through the Khaibar Pass, but, either from exhaustion or satiety, the Mongolian savage did not press his way beyond the Indus. But he and his hordes had seen enough of the fertility of India to leave the tradition of invasion as a blood-duty, and in 1295 the Moguls were barely repulsed beneath the very walls of Delhi. Ten years later, Ala-ud-din—who called himself Alexander the Second—had to meet a series of Mogul raids. Twenty years later, Tughlak found himself face to face with the same steady pressure from the same quarter, and he had the weakness to meet it by the payment of blackmail. In 1398 the most awful massacre that Delhi has ever known took place at the hands of the Tartar and Mogul hordes led by Timur. For five days the butchery went on, and Delhi, as a living corporation of men and women, ceased to exist. Timur returned devout thanks to Almighty God in Firoz Shah's mosque and retired. The Mogul grip, however, remained, and the Seyyid dynasty, from 1414 to 1450, was but another form of Mongolian authority, and the reign of the Afghan Lodies, who ousted the Seyyids in the latter years, was but an unsteady rule for seventy-five years. Then Babar, the first of the Mogul Emperors of India, "placed his foot in the stirrup of resolution" and the great line was established at Delhi by the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat in 1526.

THE MOGULS

There is not time to write here of the Mogul Emperors. As I have said before, they supplied the throne of Delhi with the greatest Imperial dynasty that the world's history records, and long after the Great Six—Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzeb—had been gathered to their fathers, the glamour of the splendid title weighed heavily even with those who had utterly worsted them in war and in peace. Even the unsentimental English approached the question of the dethronement of the Mogul Emperor in Delhi—then a mere puppet, useless in our hands, and mischievous in the hands of those who for a moment could supplant us—with obvious reluctance. One thing may be said here. The dazzling picture that history records of the Mogul

torturing and burning each other for religious differences which led to much greater mutual violence and recrimination than Islam and Hinduism ever did in India, and at one time the ruling dynasty of England lost its throne because of the antagonism of the faith of the monarch to that of the bulk of the people. The bloody scenes which France witnessed on St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1572 have never been known in India. The Hindu and the Mussalman have lived together in peaceful neighbourliness for many centuries and have intermarried in the past. The religious practices which a strictly neutral Government rightly find it difficult to meddle with and which create bad blood between the ignorant classes on both sides are not such as to be incapable of peaceful adjustment: the native states of India where the Government is not hampered by the same considerations as ours furnish an excellent object-lesson as to how the Hindu and the Mussalman can live and work together in harmony and peace.

Hindu reformers in the past had as zealous followers among Mahomedans as among Hindus. Taking the Hindus themselves, an intelligent observer will perceive a uniformity of practice and custom strikingly similar from the Punjab to Bengal, from the Himalayas to Comorin. The religious ideals and practices, the laws founded on religion, are the same everywhere with local variations: they follow the same scripture, and are inspired by the same faith.

CASTE

Sects have never acquired in India the acerbity of their Western prototypes. Our Western critics have seen in the connubial exclusiveness of caste a hopeless barrier to the growth of the national idea. No sensible person will defend the system of caste as it obtains in India at the present day; it is undoubtedly an obstacle in the way of our progress, a source of weakness in our social and political life: but bad as it is, is it fatal to the national aspiration of India? Let us take other countries. It is true that in Europe the same rigid connubial law does not prevail, but it would be safe to say that inter-marriages between different strata of society, sometimes as rigidly divided as castes in India, are not very common and are certainly looked upon with disfavour: yet such social distinctions have not hindered the formation and growth of the national idea; with all its drawbacks, the constitution of an Indian caste is absolutely democratic and within its own fold the lowest is equal to the highest. Again, as

between different castes, though divided by the *jus connubium*, they are united by many ties in common, and in Indian village life even an 'untouchable' has a well-defined and not altogether unimportant position; he is called by a name which creates by village custom a bond of relationship in the village circle. In ancient times classification into castes was no bar to the political growth of the people, and Greek and Chinese observers testify to the existence of powerful and well-organised states in India: when some great king arose, these various states owed allegiance to a single sovereign, and Asoka's rule extended from beyond the Indus to the Brahmaputra. It may be too much to expect the disappearance of the divisions which caste has imposed on Hindu India, but these divisions have already lost much of their sharpness and the time is not far distant when, under the influence of western ideas, caste will cease to be a barrier in social intercourse.

LANGUAGE

We have again the misfortune of speaking in many tongues, which our critics multiply into hundreds, counting each variation of dialect as a separate language. We must not forget that the languages of upper India and the Western Presidency are derived from the same common source, both vocabulary and grammar being practically the same, and the Dravidian languages of the south have made very large indents on Sanskrit to enrich themselves. Difference in language quite as marked and much greater than what prevails in upper India and Bombay have not prevented the cantons of Switzerland, further divided by religious beliefs, from living for centuries as a confederated nation: but the language question does not present the same difficulty now as it did of old. English has become the vehicle of thought between different parts of India and is as readily understood in the South as in the North by the educated classes, who, whatever their numerical strength may be, exercise wide influence in their own provinces, if not outside, through the vernacular press and the platform.

CONCEPTION OF NATIONALITY

The question at the present moment is not an immediate fusion of the Indian peoples into one common mass, professing one religion, speaking one language. Much as that consummation would be desirable, much as it would appeal to writers of political utopias in considering the question of a politically united Indian nationality, it is to-day outside practical politics. For the constitu-

tion of India as a nation politically, let us not be overcome by the phantoms which critics interested in maintaining in India the present stage of Government, of justifying at the bar of humanity the position of subordination in which the Indian peoples are held, have raised to blind our view. The true conception of a nation according to modern ideas is well laid down by a thoughtful writer whose authority is undoubted. He says: "what is essential to the modern conception of a State, which is also a Nation, is merely that the persons composing it should have generally speaking a consciousness of belonging to one another, of being members of one body, over and above what they derive from the mere fact of being under one government, so that if their government were destroyed by war or revolution, they would still tend to hold firmly together; when they have this consciousness, we regard them as forming a 'Nation', whatever else they may lack." For the purposes of realising the ideal which Prof. Sidgwick lays down, we are better situated than many other people; we have not behind us the memories of ancient quarrels, of defeats and successes which the Scotch and English had when they combined: for we have been living now for more than a century under one Government: if race forms a predominant factor in the formation of a nation, we are more closely allied than the Pict, the Gael, the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt. We are certainly better situated than the warring communities which regarded each other as foreigners and enemies and subsequently combined into the great city states of Rome and Athens. The student of history will remember the formation of the Leagues in the later period of the independence of Hellas: and coming down to modern times, we are not so divided, have never been as Italy was prior to 1860, covered by States, Republics and Cities opposed to each other with the bitterness of hereditary hate: secular and temporal powers were arrayed against each other in mortal enmity: ruling houses belonged to different races, some Italian, some French, some Spanish and some Austrian, and were in secret league with different foreign Governments. Prince Metternich said of Italy in 1860 that it was merely a geographical expression. In about 10 years' time after that famous utterance, Italy became a free and united nation.

IS INDIA A MERE NAME?

It has been said of India also that it is a mere geographical expression: but our place has neither been in the past nor in the present merely a few letters on the map of the earth. In ancient

times our ancestors had carried their civilization far beyond the confines of India from the Caspian to the Pacific and had sometimes formed large states, occasionally combining India and the regions beyond the Hindukush under one over-lordship.

COMMON GOVERNMENT

We have at the present day on our side many great advantages which other communities who have struggled to form a nation or state had not possessed. We are living under one Government, a Government which has always evinced a strong desire to further the cause of India's progress: education, communication, sanitation have been matters which have always attracted the attention of the Government and are every day receiving greater consideration: it is not merely maintained for the purposes of revenue; it is not maintained for the sole purpose of providing a field where the middle classes of England may earn a living and her merchants a fortune but is also maintained in the interest of the people, for their general uplifting.

ROYAL SYMPATHY

I shall quote the gracious words of His late Majesty from his message to India on the occasion of the jubilee of the great Proclamation showing the spirit of British rule in India:

"The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me ever since My visit in 1875 the interests of India, its princes and peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of My Royal House and Line only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this kingdom."

Therefore, in the realisation of our great ideal, we have on our side the sympathy of our Government, sympathy not expressed in words, but translated into action. The Legislative Councils, halting, incomplete, inefficient as they are at the present moment, are daily tending to create a sense of joint and corporate responsibility.

"SENSE OF ONENESS"

Seely justly observes:—"Nationality is compounded of several

elements of which a sense of kindred is only one. The sense of common interest and the habit of forming a single political whole constitute another element." We in Congress meet every year, people from the north and the south, from the east and the west of the vast continent of India to strengthen the forces which lie behind these elements, so that they may develop and combine. In the past the great religious reformers, whether of the north or the south, of the east or the west, have been the common heritage of India and to-day social and political reformers of whatever race and creed receive unstinted and unqualified appreciation from every part of India.

INDIAN RACES AND RELIGIONS

Religion in India stands in a large degree also for race ; and the relative numerical position of the different Indian communities is now of greater importance than at any previous Census, since the constitutional reforms initiated some two years ago base representation in the enlarged Legislatures mainly upon it, and the contemplated revision of the Regulations for Council elections will be affected materially by the present returns. For the larger communities at least it was a matter of political moment that they should record advance in numbers. The arrangements for the Census ordained by the authorities were in strict accord with the principle of neutrality. In some cases the border-line between one faith and another in India is not clearly defined ; but if any pressure was brought to bear upon individuals to declare themselves on the one side or the other of the line, it was entirely unauthorized. The personal profession of each individual was accepted, and those who did not claim to belong to any recognized religion were entered under the name of their caste or tribe. So far from insisting on exactitude, the authorities accepted the statement of some 35,000 persons in Western India that they were "Hindu-Mahomedan." Apart from them the schedule of "Minor Religions and Religion not Returned" would have comprised only some 12,000 persons, of whom about 10 per cent. were Confucians, chiefly in Bengal. It is a fact to ponder that in the 315 millions of India, only 17 persons were found to avow themselves Atheists, while there were only 50 Agnostics—45 of them in Burma and presumably Chinese. In 1901 the great Hindu communities constituted 70·37 per cent. of the entire population, and it was obvious from the first publication of preliminary figures last March that they must have made the

main contribution to the 7 per cent. increase in the aggregate of the decennium. Their total has risen at the rate of a million a year, and now stands at 217,586,920. The great majority are under the sway of the Brahmanic system of caste; the reformed Theistic movement makes little impression numerically upon this vast mass. It is true that the Arya Samaj, as the result of active propaganda in Upper India, where almost all its followers are to be found, more than doubled its numbers, which now stand at 243,000, and that the Brahmos of Bengal record an increase of about 1,000, the present figure being 5,504; but Brahmanic Hinduism has extraordinary powers of absorption and comprehension, and includes many men of education who are Theists in fact if not in name. At the other end of the scale difficulty was found on this, as on former occasions, in drawing a line between Hindus and Animists. The latter include Mundas, Santals, Bhils, and other jungle tribes, holding primitive beliefs for which no name exists in Indian vernaculars; but in the tabulation all persons were treated as Hindus if they belonged to a recognized Hindu caste, however low it might be, and however near akin their beliefs to those of the jungle tribes outside the caste system. These tribes suffered severely in the great famines of 1897 and 1900, so that their numbers fell by over 7 per cent. between 1891 and 1901; but they have now recovered their vitality, and in the last ten years have increased from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to about $10\frac{1}{4}$ millions. A part of the increase, however, may be attributed to exact enumeration having taken the place of estimates in the wilder tracts. Since the first general and uniform Census in 1881 the proportion of Mahomedans to the aggregate population has steadily risen, being 19.74 in 1881 and 21.22 in 1901. Once again the relative increase is larger than that of the Hindus, their numbers having risen from $62\frac{1}{2}$ millions to 66,623,412—an expansion which is the more noteworthy since they form much more than half the population of the Punjab, where in the past decade, owing to the ravages of plague and malaria, the population of British districts has decreased by 1.7 and that of Native States by 4.8 per cent. In the circumstances their numbers in the Punjab remained practically stationary, and the increase was chiefly contributed by Eastern Bengal and Assam, where they accounted for more than 20 millions out of the population of 34 millions. In the re-arranged Province of Bengal they will still have a numerical preponderance over the Bengalis, though a small one in comparison with their position under what has been the Dacca Government. From the point of view of numerical ratio it is un-

INDIAN RACES AND RELIGIONS

fortunate for the Moslems that the border clans within the British political sphere on the North-West Frontier, while included in the aggregate Indian population, were not enumerated by religion, as their total was necessarily the subject of elaborate estimate instead of actual count. These 1,608,000 Pathans are known to be overwhelmingly Moslem, so that it may be safely claimed that there are 68 millions of Moslems under British authority in the Indian Empire, as compared with 50 millions 30 years ago. Thus, between them, the Hindus, the Mahomedans, and the aboriginal tribes comprise more than 296 of the 315 millions of the Indian Empire; yet three faiths of purely Indo-Aryan origin remain to be accounted for in the comparatively small balance of population. Buddhism, the first of these in numerical importance, is almost entirely confined to Burma, where it comprises 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ millions out of the total population of rather more than 12 millions. Their growth—there were less than 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions of them ten years ago—has thus been synchronous with that of the Burmese population; in the rest of India there are only 336,870 adherents of a faith which at one time predominated over Brahmanism. The Jains, who are found chiefly in the Bombay Presidency and in the Central and United Provinces, have suffered heavily from plague. They were reduced in numbers during the decade—alone among the 11 religions tabulated—and are now less than 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions. On the other hand, the Sikhs, although chiefly concentrated in the severely-stricken Punjab, increased from under 2,200,000 to more than three millions. This expansion, following a slight fall ten years ago which caused some misgiving among the military authorities, will be welcomed by those who recognize both the high value of the Sikh soldiery and the ease of the transition from Sikhism to Hinduism. The Parsis of Western India record a natural increase (they do not proselytize), and now number exactly 100,100. This is less than 3 per 10,000 of the populations; but what the Zoroastrians lack in numbers, they make up in enterprise and wealth. With the exception of the Jewish colonies, now numbering 21,000, the only remaining classification is that of the Christians, the tables for whom will be scanned with anxious interest by many friends of the missionary cause. The growth of Christianity in the decade, and, indeed, since the first general Census, has been remarkable, as the subjoined comparative table will show :—

1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
1,862,634	2,284,380	2,923,241	3,876,196

Of the present total more than two and one-third millions are to be found in Southern India, where there are Christian colonies planted in the early centuries of the faith, and where considerable accessions by conversion have been reported in recent years. There have been striking increases in the Punjab and the United Provinces, the combined figures being 379,445 as against 169,546 ten years ago. In the two Bengals and their States, the number of Christians has risen from 315,198 to 464,573, while in the Hyderabad State an advance from 23,000 to over 54,000 is reported. In the Native States as a whole the advance has been relatively greater than in British districts, the former with 71 millions of people reporting an increase of some 365,000, and the latter, with 244 millions, an increase of 588,000. The relative distribution of Christians by race and denomination has still to be made known, but it may be mentioned that in 1901 the European and Eurasian communities aggregated little more than a quarter of a million, or considerably less than 10 per cent. of the Christian population. The diminution of the percentage on this occasion may be looked for, as it is not to be expected that the growth of the white and semi-white communities has kept relative pace with that of Indian-born Christians, by natural increase and by conversion.—*The Times*.

INDIAN FINANCIAL STATEMENT

The following are the most important variations:—

REVENUE

Opium	...	...	...	+	1,576,300
State Railways (net receipts)	...	...	...	+	1,184,900
Excise	...	...	...	+	387,100
Customs	...	...	...	+	330,400
Interest (Receipts)	...	...	...	+	271,200
Mint	...	...	...	+	142,500
Exchange	...	...	...	+	105,700
Land Revenue	...	...	...	—	855,700

EXPENDITURE

Provincial Adjustments	...	...	...	+	2,325,500
Military Services	...	...	...	+	100,600
Opium	...	...	...	—	444,800
Education	...	...	...	—	256,900
Protective Irrigation...	...	...	...	—	134,300
Civil Works	...	...	...	—	122,300
Medical	...	...	...	—	112,900

Revenue.—The great increase in the opium revenue is due to the exceedingly high prices realized at the Calcutta sales and to the introduction from January, 1912, of an auction system in connection with the export of opium from Bombay. Of the abnormal receipts from this source, £566,700 has been granted to Provincial Governments, to be used for non-recurring expenditure on sanitation, agriculture, and allied objects, while about £1,100,000 will be devoted to the redemption of temporary debt. The railway returns show greater traffic than was anticipated in wheat, cotton, jute, salt, and other commodities, and from the Royal visit. Business have been brisk since the Durbar. The decrease in land revenue has been due to distress in parts of Bombay and to exemption from revenue of the early autumn crops in certain areas in the Punjab and United Provinces.

Expenditure.—In addition to the special grants of £566,700 made to the Provincial Governments for sanitation, &c., referred to above, further grants of £1,424,000 have been made to them for various purposes, including a provision of £781,900 for opening balances for the new provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Assam. The increased expenditure shown under the head of Provincial Adjustments is mainly due to this cause. The reduction in opium expenditure is due to an abnormally thin yield during last poppy

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harvest, the payments to the cultivators being considerably less owing to this cause than was anticipated. Under "Education and "Medical," the saving is due to the inability of the Provincial Government to spend in full the special allotments made to them for these purposes.

The total cost of the Royal boons of a non-recurring nature announced by his Majesty at Durbar is now estimated at £6000,000.

1912-13.

The Budget Estimate shows a surplus of £1,511,600.

The chief variations in the figures as compared with the Revised Estimate for the current year are as follows :—

REVENUE.

		Increase.	Decrease.
		£	£
Land Revenue	...	903,500	—
Excise	...	154,400	—
Stamps	...	141,600	—
Opium	...	—	2,234,700
State Railways	...	—	605,200
Interest (receipt)	...	—	220,900
Customs	...	—	146,100
Mint	...	—	135,300

EXPENDITURE

Education	...	1,004,700	—
Medical	...	503,300	—
Interest	...	311,400	—
Civil Works	...	229,100	—
Protective Irrigation Works	...	114,300	—
Provincial Adjustments	...	—	2,107,600
General Administration	...	—	687,900
Military Services	...	—	511,300

Revenue.—In pursuance of the arrangements with China for the restriction of the opium trade, the number of chests to be offered for sale in 1912-13 will be smaller than in the current year, and it is assumed that the prices will be very much lower. The estimate of land revenue is based upon the assumption that there will be a return of normal conditions in those parts of the country which suffered from a deficient monsoon in 1911. For railways and customs moderate figures have been taken in view of exceptional receipts in the current year.

W.D.V.E. Clerk

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Date of submission

P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.
By	Passengers	Luggage	Passengers	Farming	Kilometer	By	Passengers	Farming	Kilometer	By	Passengers	Luggage	Passengers	Luggage	Remarks



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